

September 1955

Volume XLIV, No. 8

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

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Profession of Faith

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By George H. Gallup
- States' Rights and States' Duties
By Governor Arthur B. Langlie
- Civic Victories in the U. S.
By Richard S. Childs

Cool Conference Held
as Rest of U. S. Swelters

PUBLISHED BY THE NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

National Municipal Review

Carl H. Pforzheimer Building, 47 East 68th Street, New York 21, N. Y.

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Some of the hundreds who attended the National Conference on Government at Seattle registering at the beautiful Student Union building of the University of Washington, where the conference was held.

Cool Conference Draws Big Crowds

The League broke a number of precedents and staged one of the most successful National Conferences on Government in Seattle, Washington, July 24-28. The first conference since the series began 61 years ago to be held in the northwest and in the middle of the summer, the Seattle meeting drew consistently better attendance, especially at its twenty-odd morning and afternoon working sessions, than most of its predecessors.

The joining of the conference with the University of Washington's Twentieth Annual Institute of Government on the University campus doubtless contributed to this result but the out-of-state attendance by League officers and members, local civic leaders and others was fully up to standards set by recent conferences — and the cool climate provided escape from a record heat wave elsewhere.

Those in attendance responded well to the emphasis on the need for strengthening the foundations of our whole system of government by modernizing state governments, coming to grips with the increasingly urgent problems of metropolitan communities and improving the efficiency of citizen controls over government. The conference took much of its special inspiration from the recent report of the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, the basic philosophy of which is set forth in excerpts from the report which appear as a guest editorial in this issue of the REVIEW.

The main themes of the conference were previewed in the opening speech by Governor Arthur B. Langlie of the state of Washington at the Monday luncheon and highlighted in the address of League

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ABOVE, Governor Arthur B. Langlie, of the state of Washington, addressing opening luncheon of Seattle conference. RIGHT, Dr. George Gallup, League President and foreman of All-America Cities jury, chatting with Robert W. Brown (center) of the Columbus, (Georgia) Leader, and Jack A. Gunter, of Phenix, Alabama, one of the entries. BELOW, All-America Cities jury hearing W. G. Colbern, of Riverside, California, one of 22 finalists for All-America awards.



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September 1955

Published monthly except August by the National Municipal League

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Entered as second class matter July 11, 1932, at the Post Office at Worcester, Massachusetts. Publication office, 150 Fremont Street, Worcester 3; editorial and business office, Carl H. Pforzheimer Building, 47 East 68th Street, New York 21, N. Y. Copyright 1955 by the National Municipal League. Subscription, \$5 per year; Canadian, \$5.25; foreign, \$5.50; single copies 50 cents. The contents of the REVIEW are indexed in International Index to Periodicals and Public Affairs Information Service.

Editorial Comment

A Profession of Faith

EDITOR'S NOTE.—This editorial consists of excerpts from the introduction to the *Report of the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations*, Submitted to the President for Transmittal to the Congress, June 1955.

THETHE national government and the states should be regarded not as competitors for authority but as two levels of government cooperating with or complementing each other in meeting the growing demands on both. Chiefly because of war and the recurring threat of war, the expenditures of the national government have grown much larger than those of the states and localities. But state and local activities also continue to expand. Equally significant is the increased interest in and recognition of the importance of state and local governments as essential elements in an effective federal structure.

The continuing vitality of state and local government affords the most solid evidence that our federal system is still an asset and not a liability. To be sure, it is not a neat system, and not an easy one to operate. It makes large demands on our sense of responsibility, our patience, our self-restraint. It requires toleration of diversity with respect to taxes, roads, schools, law enforcement and many other important matters. Those who have a passion for streamlining can easily point to awkward features.

Nevertheless, the federal principle, along with the principle of checks and balances, remains one of the great institutional embodiments of our tra-

ditional distrust of too much concentrated authority in government or, to state it positively, of our traditional belief in distribution of authority among relatively independent governing bodies. Experience has demonstrated the wisdom of the view of the Founding Fathers that individual freedom is best preserved in a system in which authority is divided and in which diverse opinions are reconciled through the processes of representative government. . . .

As an instrument of positive government, it possesses — at least for a nation as large and diverse as ours — a clear advantage over a strongly centralized government. In helping to bolster the principle of consent, in facilitating wide participation in government, in furnishing training grounds for leaders, in maintaining the habit of local initiative, in providing laboratories for research and experimentation in the art of government, in fostering competition among lower levels of government, in serving as outlets for local grievances and for political aspirations — in all these and many other ways, the existence of many relatively independent and responsible governments strengthens rather than weakens our capacity for government. . . .

Out of the trying events of this past quarter-century, and out of the accompanying doubts and fears, has come a deeper understanding of what is required to maintain a proper division of activities between the national government and the states. As with all governmental institutions in our society, the basic purpose of the

division of powers is to provide a climate that favors growth of the individual's material and spiritual potential. Power will not long rest with any government that cannot or will not make proper use of it for that end. Our system of federal government can be in proper balance, therefore, only when each level is effective and responsible. . . .

Far from weakening the national government, the strengthening of state and local government would increase its effectiveness. The responsibilities that unavoidably must fall on the national government are formidable. The fullest possible utilization of the resources of the state and local governments is desirable both to supplement national action where national action is necessary, and to relieve the national government of having to divert its resources and energies to activities that could be handled as well or better by the states and their subdivisions. . . .

The preservation and strengthening of our federal system depend in the last analysis on the self-restraint and responsibility, as well as the wisdom, of our actions as citizens. If we are not willing to leave some room for diversity of policy, to tolerate some lack of uniformity in standards, even in many matters which are of national concern and about which we may feel

strongly, the essence of federalism, even if not the legal fiction, will have been lost. We must also realize that it can be lost, or its vitality sapped, by nonuse of state and local initiative as well as by overuse of national authority. We have therefore as citizens a responsibility to see to it that those legitimate needs of society that could be met by timely state and local action do not by default have to be met by the national government.

Precise divisions of governmental activities need always to be considered in the light of varied and shifting circumstances; they need also to be viewed in the light of principles rooted in our history. Assuming efficient and responsible government at all levels — national, state and local — we should seek to divide our civic responsibilities so that we:

Leave to private initiative all the functions that citizens can perform privately; use the level of government closest to the community for all public functions it can handle; utilize cooperative intergovernmental arrangements where appropriate to attain economical performance and popular approval; reserve national action for residual participation where state and local governments are not fully adequate, and for the continuing responsibilities that only the national government can undertake.

Civic Victories in U. S.

The past six decades see many of League's programs applied to improve our cities, counties and states.

By RICHARD S. CHILDS*

SIXTY-ONE years ago the political reformers of various cities, smarting under habitual defeats in their local struggles against municipal corruption, met in Philadelphia to exchange experiences and techniques. They arranged to meet every year and thus formed the National Municipal League.

In those dark days James Bryce, then America's most effective and incisive friendly critic, was calling the government of cities "the one conspicuous failure of the United States," and the National Municipal League's mission was to do something about that. And if your spirit is here tonight, Sir James, we proudly submit some progress that should delight you!

You said another thing in those days, Sir James, that there was here none of the cynical despair seen in some older countries but always and everywhere amid the most noisome and flagrant corruption there blossomed a buoyant faith among Americans that those conditions could be and would be cleansed away. Americans "do not . . . expect to attain their ideals either easily or soon,"

*Mr. Childs, a former president of the National Municipal League, is chairman of the League's Executive Committee. Since his retirement from business eight years ago, he has been a full-time volunteer staff member of the League. This article is Mr. Childs' address before the annual dinner of the League's National Conference on Government, Seattle, July 27, 1955.

you said, "but they say they will continue to strive towards them, and they say it with a note of confidence in the voice that rings in the ear of the European visitor and fills him with their own sanguine spirit." Our League became, and still is, the ordained moving ark of that high faith.

Contrariwise, I recall the voice of Frank J. Goodnow, eminent political scientist, afterward president of Johns Hopkins University. He attended one of our committees at the New York City Club, agreed that our programs were sound, but bluntly and scornfully told us we would not get anywhere in a hundred years!

There was another prophet of doom, Lincoln Steffens. As a reporter of municipal corruption, superb; as diagnostician, all wet. For he sneeringly belittled our original *Model City Charter* and our efforts to simplify the complex and preposterous mechanism of the democratic process, and took the line that, whatever happened, the people were to blame.

One more commentator of those days was Plunkett of Tammany Hall; he said "a reform administration is never re-elected" and, up to that time, Mr. Plunkett, your statement was historically true. But nowadays, if you're listening, we confront you with a different story.

Of course the National Municipal League, with its tiny staff and trivial funds, did not do all that has been

done in the 60 years since; it was done by the local forces of decency across the land in myriad ugly battles. But from the central arsenal of the League, and its diligent committees of volunteers, there went to local reformers a steady flow of the weapons of collected information, sound interpretation, constructive conjectures of advanced methodology and the confirming evidence of successes in the field.

Aid for Local Groups

There come to our office, by letter or in person every week, the spokesmen of local discontent, usually little people, unimportant people, novices in their local political arena, green at their self-imposed assignment of "having to do something about it," but they are the salt of the earth for they start out toward seemingly sure defeat and they carry courage in their hands.

We load them up with the stories of civic victories elsewhere in like conditions, we stock them with leaflets, news articles and pamphlets for popular distribution, sober data for charter revision commissions or state constitutional conventions, bricks of fact to throw into their local scrimmages. From afar we watch their local attacks and see their adversaries stir to the defense of encrusted privileges. Those adversaries are sometimes vulgar political crooks; more often they are dull smug complacent characters who never steal money but do keep control for decades by utilizing patronage and favoritism to entrench themselves, at public expense, against dislodgment. (We despise those Latin-

American republics where the "ins" always count the ballots in their own favor; use of public payrolls to influence elections is in principle a similar perversion.)

Such characters resent the intrusion of a lot of unappreciative suddenly active citizens with novel programs and sharpened demands. "We don't need any smarty-pants city manager from out of town," they say, and presently they throw mud and invent strange canards to which we have to supply telegraphed answers.

In the hundred struggles a year where the issue is a referendum on adoption of our model council-manager charter, 60 per cent of the fights nowadays go our way.

Our arsenal of pamphlets changes and develops a little every year as facts and the thinking of our volunteer experts and scholars require. It covers the whole range of state and local government but through it all runs the basic concentration on the viewpoint of the ordinary preoccupied voter. How can we design governments so simple and understandable that without conscious effort the voter will know enough to be able to cast an informed vote on every issue on election day?

Now the British do just that. Two generations ago, being unencumbered by the false theories of our Jacksonian era, they cleared away a clutter of petty elective offices and made them appointive in various appropriate ways. Since then the British voter gets a ballot of post-card size, with the names of candidates for one office, member of Parliament. At another time the British voter marks a

similar little one-office ballot for member of his city or county council. And that's all the voting he ever does! The British voter can hardly fail to be 100 per cent master of his task at the polls.

Politician's Ballot

But in Cuyahoga County (Cleveland), Ohio, in 1952, the voter got four ballots, one of them eleven by nineteen inches. Make up your mind, Mr. Voter, please, on each of 42 simultaneous contests for office! Does he do it? Of course not! He votes real convictions on candidates for president, governor, senator—5 or 10 per cent of the list—but the other 90 per cent he leaves to the politicians of his party. He records no opinion, he *has* no opinion, as to which is the man he should prefer for state treasurer.

In Michigan, where there is a similar array, a state commission, three years ago in a public opinion poll, found that 96 per cent of the voters could not name the state treasurer. There are long lists of candidates for judges. A public opinion poll in New York found less than 5 per cent who could name judges they had voted for a few days before. A well informed citizen, Brand Whitlock, mayor of Toledo, coming from the polls after voting on one of these Ohio ballots was asked—"Well, whom did you vote for?" He responded, "How should I know?"

So we get our definition of a politician—a man who knows what he is doing on election day. He obligingly ties up bundles of candidates into bunches like asparagus so that the voter can vote them by the bunch.

And the citizens vote for three, four or five candidates they know about and ten to forty others who are meaningless names.

If on this huge ballot the printer made a mistake and put some Democratic candidates under the Republican label, the voters would not know the difference. In a Detroit district some candidates for the obscure office of constable got put on the ballots of the wrong district and not one of the 203 voters showed any awareness of the error.

Having no opinion to express, voters sometimes develop a trick of voting for the candidate on the top line, so names have to be rotated in position; failure of the printer to rotate a candidate to the top line on an equal number of ballots recently defeated an Ohio candidate for Congress.

So we conclude that the long ballot is the politicians' ballot and accept the short ballot principle that if you ask the sovereign people too many silly dull questions, the sovereign people will not be the ones who answer. They relinquish the control to the politicians who tie up those asparagus bunches, the ticket-makers, who thus acquire a power that is capable of great abuse.

But to get the ballot down to five elective offices—which seems to be the outer limit of genuine informed simultaneous opinions that can be developed for counting—it becomes necessary to amend the constitutions of all the states, develop counties with one integrated government instead of a ramshackle dozen little independent authorities and simplify

the loose-jointed multi-headed governments of numerous cities.

So our *Model State Constitution* would provide, instead of the six separately elected junior state officers, one state administration under the governor (as in New Jersey and in the federal government). Appointive judges (as in some states and in the federal system) are to be preferred and state legislators from single-member districts would be better than six senators and seventeen state representatives at large on the ballot in this populous Ohio county. We work for creating county governments where each voter has only supervisors to select, the other officers being made appointive—and so on. It's perfectly easy to schedule it all so as to bring the ballot down to five offices or less without doing anything that is not successfully in effect somewhere in the United States already. Only the combination would be new.

On the municipal level our model council-manager charter is, of course, our prime contribution—now in 1,313 cities and towns with 28,000,000 people living under it. It is so simple that it can and does operate characteristically without the intervention of politicians; so much so that 70 per cent of the city managers, the highest paid officers, are selected from out of town and commonly proceed unhampered by politics or patronage.

I could linger to tell you about that novel concept of our early days, the idea of having local elections nonpartisan so that local issues could be fought out free from distortion by extraneous party loyalties. It was de-

rided then. It is in effect now in 60 per cent of American cities over 5,000 population and, when we checked up such municipal elections as observed by local chambers of commerce, we found, out of 500 elections, only two in which the national party organizations had thrown their weight.

There's another story in our remedy for fraudulent elections, to protect each voter's right to vote by his signature, like his money in the bank; in effect in eleven states in 1939 and in twenty-one in 1954.

Fighting Ahead

Do not conclude that this war is over because of our many civic victories. On the contrary "there is beautiful fighting ahead." About 35 years ago we cheerfully faced ridicule by proposing single-house legislatures. But Nebraska picked up the idea and for eighteen years now has had an outstandingly competent and respected body whose activities are unconfused and no longer elude public scrutiny. Its 43 members have a lower turnover and there are no end-of-the-session jams. Only one state—and a long way to go before we shall see 47 other states cut through their disorderly legislative jungles—but we have been in the position of prophet before.

There remain 44 states which should shorten their state ballots as their Little Hoover commissions so often and so vainly urge. There are 3,000 counties and only fifteen so far which even approach our county manager form. There are the many states with elective judiciaries, which are actually, of course, not chosen by the people at all. And we must speed

up the process whereby 70 cities a year adopt our council-manager plan, for there are 1,700 of more than 5,000 population still eluding capture.

But we know that "reformers must have the sense of time of a geologist." And we know Lord Acton's heartening phrase, "Ideals in politics are never realized, but the pursuit of them determines history." Everything we preach is based upon bringing the task of the voter down to a point of simplicity where he won't be helplessly and blindly dependent on the self-serving types of politician and political machine.

Consider Human Nature

You recall Mohammed's colloquy with the mountain? The people are the immovable mountain. Railing at them to make them deal informedly with such ballots as our systems provide is futile and impudent. Our League's programs would adapt governments to the facts of human nature. Human nature has been much the same for thousands of years. We can't change it. But our governments can easily be redesigned to be workable with human nature as it is.

Carlyle said the problem of democracy is how, out of a multitude of knaves, to build an honest government. We say the problem is how, out of a job-lot of ordinary preoccupied busy Americans, to build a responsive obedient government without the intervention of bosses and machines. We say the way to keep self-serving rascals and their stooges out of government is to refrain from electing them. The way to refrain from electing them is to take a good look at

them at election time. But you can't take a good look at twenty or forty at a time!

Bring the ballot down to five, however, and we go places. Our people perform. Our constituencies turn out to be as good in motive, intelligence and perception as any in the world. The difficulties of democracy here are mechanistic, not moral, and respond to mechanistic corrections.

Listen, Dr. Goodnow of Johns Hopkins! We *have* gotten somewhere in a hundred years!

Listen, James Bryce! Our cities are no longer the "conspicuous failure" of American politics but offer a growing list of the best reconciliations of democracy and efficiency in the world. Within one more year there will be more cities of 25,000 population or more under our council-manager plan than under either of the older plans.

Listen, Plunkett of Tammany Hall! Dayton has re-elected what you would call reform administrations through 22 successive elections. Cincinnati, once admittedly the most sordid municipal government in America, has been one of the best for fifteen elections.

Listen, Lincoln Steffens! The people of Jackson County, Missouri, whom you would denounce for tolerating a politician-ridden county courthouse, are the same who for eighteen years have gotten for themselves a politician-free city hall in Kansas City. It is the mechanism that makes the difference. Or to change the simile, the people triumph for decency when the battle field is shifted from a jungle to a fair and

(Continued on page 417)

The Milestones Ahead

Improvement of methods of citizen action, metropolitan areas and state government vital problems of the future.

By GEORGE H. GALLUP*

WE TRIED to persuade Mr. Childs to call his talk "Old Reformers Never Die." First I thought he had changed the title to "Civic Victories" just to advertise his book of the same name. It would have been a good reason because it's a good book. Any one who hasn't seen it should get a copy. It tells the whole amazing story of civic achievement since the founding of the National Municipal League in 1894, of which Mr. Childs gave you just a taste in his address.¹ And it tells the story from the vantage point of a wide-awake eyewitness and major participant.

I am now convinced, however, that Mr. Childs had a different reason for rejecting our title. I believe it was because he rejected the implication that, though reformers may never die, they do fade away. Obviously, Mr. Childs isn't fading away. Compared with him, I'm a mere boy in this business. But I've been going to conferences with him for a good many years and he's going as strong as ever. He still talks about the short ballot and the council-manager plan, but he keeps moving on to develop new ways to simplify

the task of the ordinary voter, and give him new power. Recently, for example, he has been taking a special interest in bringing up to date the League's programs for voter registration and nominating methods, including possible ways to put more sense into our system for nominating presidential candidates.

Mr. Childs is a perfect illustration of a truth which is exemplified by the whole National Municipal League, as it is locally by your Municipal League of Seattle and King County and its splendid leaders.

That truth is that old reformers, if they are of authentic breed, never die, neither do they fade away. They simply keep riding on to new battles and, occasionally, to new victories.

That inbred characteristic of the true reformer is the real secret weapon of the forces of progress in our land. That, plus the fact that contrary to a common notion, he is neither a bluenose, a sour puss, nor a Don Quixote. America has been made by reformers—by men and women who dared to dream of better things and who had the inventive genius and the energy to make them real. These reformers have been idealists and at the same time the most practical of people. They are too far-sighted and too busy associating with their fellowmen to waste time in lonely jousting with windmills, however enticing. All of this

*Dr. Gallup, director of the American Institute of Public Opinion, is president of the National Municipal League. This article is Dr. Gallup's address before the annual dinner of the League's National Conference on Government, Seattle, July 27, 1955.

¹See page 398, this issue.

is the real explanation of why some people try to hang a bad name on the reformer. It's because he is a successful disturber of the peace—of the kind of peace that has spelled stagnation and decay for many societies. The National Municipal League is composed of people who are determined that that kind of peace shall never descend upon America, for we know, as did the founders, that freedom and self-government can be had only at the price of continued struggle and of constant effort for improvement.

A Look Forward

I have been asked to talk about "Milestones Ahead." I am not going to attempt to chart a course to Utopia. That would be neither the League nor the American way. I am simply going to point out a few salient points in the line of civic progress that we think it is important to take if the next 60 years are to justify the efforts of the reformers of the last 60.

I've discovered that old programs of the National Conference on Government make a fascinating study. That is because they reflect the pre-occupations and the objectives and hopes of the moving civic spirits of the day. They mark victories recently won and point to milestones ahead in the path of civic progress. And it is indicative of the vital nature of the civic forces in this country that these programs always devote more attention to the future than to the past.

There is another point that is significant in this connection. It has to do with the way in which the League conference programs are made. It is

true they are put together by the staff at the League's office, but they are not dreamed up there. Their content is determined by the information that comes to the League from the thinkers, leaders and actors who are shaping the course of civic events throughout the country. These people really make these programs.

Now let us look at this 1955 program to see what it reveals.

This program reflects the conviction that we reformers need to concentrate more heavily and effectively than ever on a number of crucial problems, especially these:

1. Strengthening state government,
2. Solution of special problems that appear in metropolitan areas,
3. Improvement of methods of citizen action at state and local levels.

This program indicates also that we are more concerned than ever about intergovernmental relationships, that is, about making sure that our various governments work together effectively to perform their total job and to preserve the essentials of our constitutional system. In addition, the program reflects a truth which has received increasing attention recently in the pages of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW. That truth is that politics—politics in the proper, constructive sense of the word—is a business of such vital importance to the country that every citizen ought to devote more attention to it. We need not fewer but more and more politicians—until every citizen recognizes himself as a part-time politician and assumes the responsibilities that go with that honorable estate. This, it seems clear

to me, is the only effective defense against the kind of abject dependence upon purely professional politicians that has too often permitted dictatorship to flourish within the framework of democracy.

With respect to all these problems the League's special function is—as it always has been—practical civic education beamed to those people in all walks of life who are receptive to the call of civic duty.

Civic Education

The importance of this function, at this particular time in history, has just received impressive endorsement from the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations. Those of you who have spent much time at this conference have heard repeatedly of the report of the commission submitted in June to the President for transmission to the Congress. I think, incidentally, that the League can claim some part of the credit for the establishment of this commission. Governor Edison, speaking as chairman of the League's Council at the 1952 National Conference on Government in San Antonio, urged that such a commission be established. A major function of the commission, as Governor Edison saw it, should be to inquire "into the ways and means of strengthening the states and municipalities so that they can carry a greater share of the business of American government."

When the commission was established in 1953, there seemed to be a fairly general impression that its principal emphasis would be upon specific recommendations directed toward getting the national government

to "turn back" various responsibilities and functions to state and local authorities. While some such recommendations were made, the commission, after nearly two years of study and discussion, put the most striking emphasis on the responsibility resting on the states to develop their own capacity "to handle a larger share of the total task of government."

Recognizing that the discharge of this responsibility will depend in the last analysis upon the citizens of the several states themselves, the commission called for more attention "to the education of citizens with respect to their responsibilities as citizens of their own states. The federal system and decentralization in government," the commission continued, "cannot be improved and strengthened without special effort to maintain adequate sources of information, channels of communication and forums for discussion of state and local issues."

The national Commission on Intergovernmental Relations arrived at the same conclusions as the National Municipal League with respect to the need for strengthening the state and local elements in our system and for an extensive program of citizen education to this end.

Much of the agenda upon which the League, and the citizens of state and local civic organizations with which it works, should be concentrating during the next few years was set forth in the report of the commission, especially in chapter 2, "The Role of the States." This chapter lists a number of the most serious deficiencies in state constitutions, legislative apportionment and execu-

tive organization which tend to force citizens to rely more heavily than they otherwise would upon the federal government. It calls attention to the increasing importance of cities and especially to the concentration of problems of government in the metropolitan areas that now house a substantial majority of the people of the United States.

Form vs. Function

One of the most useful things that the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations has done is to make clear the essential relationship between the form, structure and methods of government, on the one hand, and the performance of functions of government on the other. The National Municipal League has always recognized this and has devoted a great deal of attention to helping citizens obtain forms of governmental organization and procedures for political action which would help them control their governments and obtain the kind of service they want.

Some critics have charged us with an unrealistic preoccupation with form to the neglect of substance. The truth, of course, is that the League is interested in democratic methods. Inefficiency robs the people of the fruits of good government. The Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, composed for the most part of members of Congress and others experienced in public administration and state and local government, has underscored this truth in insisting that the vitality of state and local government in the future will depend largely upon basic improvements in their organization and structure.

Politics may be viewed as the art of getting results through governmental means. The more imperfect the means the more dependent are the people upon full-time professional politicians and the more the results will be twisted and limited by the personal and selfish interests to which some professional politicians respond. Our essential task, then, continues to be the development and maintenance of governmental and political arrangements that make it easy for every man to be his own politician and that tend to elevate to positions of leadership men and women who are more interested in the good of the commonwealth than in the exercise of political power.

What are the prospects of persuading more Americans that they ought to be politicians? There are evidences, in the increasing demands for service that come to the office of the National Municipal League, that more and more people throughout the land are ready to plan responsible roles in public affairs. This evidence is, I think, confirmed to some degree by trends that can be observed in polls that the American Institute of Public Opinion has been taking over the last several years.

Ten years ago the American Institute of Public Opinion asked a representative cross-section of citizens whether they would like to have a son of theirs go into politics as a life work. The answer—by an overwhelming majority—was “No.”

Adlai Stevenson cited the results of a poll on this question as one of the reasons he entered politics:

“There seemed to me something curiously inconsistent about the

glorious, eager, uncomplaining sacrifices of war for the security of our homeland and its cherished institutions and the active distaste of so many respectable people for peacetime participation and service. . . .

"Die for them—yes; work for them—no! Small wonder, I thought, that our 'politics' is not better and great wonder that it is as good as it is."

A few months ago the institute repeated this same question. The results show that politics is slightly more attractive now than it was ten years ago—but the majority still holds politics is dirty and corrupt.

Willing to Work

Other polls are more encouraging. A substantial majority of Americans, for example, are willing to give generously of their time and energy in service on committees for various kinds of community projects. In view of the fact that those projects almost invariably involve governmental action, it should not be too great a step to get people to move from participation on voluntary committees to membership on governing bodies. In fact, League files are full of examples of citizens who have done just exactly that, and of others who have moved from nonpartisan citizen organizations into activity in the political parties of their choice.

Another encouraging indication of willingness on the part of more people to assume some political responsibility turned up in a poll taken in 1954, in which the institute tried to find out something about volunteer work in political campaigns. We found that many persons would like to take an active part—as volunteers—in politics if asked. This is a pat-

illustration of a fact which is well known in the headquarters of the National Municipal League, that is, that much of what passes for citizen inertia is simply due to the lack of adequate organization.

It is our business to see to it that no one can excuse himself for failing to get into the act because he hasn't been asked or because he doesn't know how to begin. There is no mystery about how to transform an inactive into a participating citizen. Give him an objective that he can recognize as important and give him some clear direction signs so that he feels he knows how to proceed.

This formula has produced peaceful revolutions in hundreds, perhaps thousands, of communities. It has enabled the American people to overcome great perils and meet serious emergencies both in war and in peace. It has been an important factor in the progress made in many fields of public service, including education and welfare, to mention two in which citizen participation has been especially extensive. There is every reason to believe that we can, in like manner, solve the urgent problems of state and local government, including those most baffling problems that develop in our metropolitan areas. We have the strongest possible motives for solving them. Our comfort, our happiness, our health, our prosperity and, ultimately, our liberties, may depend on our success.

Whether we like it or not, we must all become part-time politicians, ready to make the same "uncomplaining sacrifices, ready to serve our homeland and its cherished institutions, in peace as in war."

States' Rights, Duties

Governor Langlie sees growth of national government due chiefly to failure to face up to responsibilities.

By ARTHUR B. LANGLIE*

EVER since the founding of the Republic the division of powers and responsibilities between the national government and the states has been the cardinal question in our federal system. The great debate before and during the constitutional convention aimed to find a balance between the necessary central authority and the greatest amount of individual freedom and local self-determination. Creation of the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations is proof of the increased interest in this question.

Inevitably the debate starts out or comes back to the words of the constitution. Nothing testifies more to the wisdom and the foresight of the Founding Fathers than the fact that the blueprint of a more perfect union they drafted still has the undivided enthusiastic support of the nation. It is now more respected, admired, revered, more firmly embedded, than ever. It has proved sufficiently flexible to fit rapidly changing conditions for the past 168 years, yet strong enough to remain unchanged in basic concept.

At times some of us may be per-

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plexed by doubts whether the system of dual sovereignty, of keeping power diffused among several independent governments, fits the exacting and urgent requirements in these fast-moving days. We may grow impatient when some states do not live up to our ideas of necessary standards of public service or seem remiss in caring for unmet human needs.

We may then wonder whether we should not follow the example of most other countries in the world, to concentrate authority in one central government. Before we pursue such thoughts too far, it might be well to remind ourselves of the compelling reasons for the broad dispersal of powers that characterizes our system of government. Let me name just three:

1. The system of checks and balances which we accept as essential to the maintenance of our liberties requires that the powers be divided not only functionally among branches of government but also geographically. The existence of strong government in the states, some of them under control of the minority party, acts as a brake on the temptation of a national government to impose its will in all matters, to enforce compliance, and to attain uniformity in extent and standards of activities which could gain by permitting diversity, local experimentation and self-determination.

2. Popular participation in activities and decisions of government is part of our American heritage. State — and local — agencies provide opportunity for many more to learn about the working of government, to make themselves heard and their influence felt, to accept responsibility and train for broader duties.

3. The position of leadership of the free world which the United States has had thrust upon it overwhelms the President and Congress with problems of unprecedented magnitude and involvement. These globe-spanning questions affecting national security require knowledge of almost limitless scale and scope which taxes the ability of any man or group of men to study, comprehend and coordinate. To select the right solutions is so vital to our very existence that the President and the Congress should be permitted to concentrate their attention and best thinking on them and be left unencumbered with other chores; they should not be called upon to make decisions on subjects which others are competent to judge.

The purpose of the constitution was not to guarantee states' rights but to secure human rights. Madison stressed in the *Federalist* that "the public good, the real welfare of the great body of the people, is the supreme object to be pursued"; and that "no form of government whatever has any value than as it may be fitted for that attainment of this object As far as the sovereignty of the states cannot be reconciled to the happiness of the people, the voice of every good citizen must be, let the former be sacrificed to the latter." All grants of power to a government are only

conditional, they must be earned by satisfactory performance every day and every year. The justification of the states and states' rights lies mainly in two factors:

1. The existence and multiplicity of state governments prevents the accumulation of a monopoly of governmental power in one place.

2. In the long run states are able to serve the legitimate needs of the people for most domestic services better and at a lower cost than a central government.

To the degree to which the states fail to perform their duties satisfactorily, they forfeit states' rights.

Changes in Federal System

We all know that during our living memory a major change has occurred in our federal system, that the tremendous growth in size and importance of the national government has somewhat eclipsed the historic role of the states. This did not come about by a change in the constitution. The tenth amendment still stands and declares that, "The powers not delegated to the United States by the constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively or to the people." But it has lost most of its effectiveness by the broad interpretations of the commerce and welfare clauses of the constitution adopted in the past two decades.

The real force in the march of power to Washington has been the expansion of grants-in-aid to the states for a multitude of their activities from a paltry \$3,000,000 at the turn of the twentieth century to \$3,000,000,000 in the current year.

Grants-in-aid have enabled the federal government to buy authority and control in any field of activity it wished.

I am not opposed to federal grants-in-aid as such. They have done much good, accomplished many worthwhile purposes. There is a legitimate place in our federal system for stimulation of state functions and for assistance by the national government. Nor do I believe that irreparable harm has resulted thus far from the transfer of decision-making power. But I wonder whether the states can go on taking more and more federal money and expect to retain control of their own activities.

The expansion of the grants-in-aid system and of federal authority is often attributed to a failure of the states to provide by their own initiative and under their own powers the services and facilities which the people demand. The charge is not without substance. The states have not always adequately exercised the powers they have. More than once the federal government stepped in because the states had failed to act.

Sometimes it is asserted that the states are financially unable to raise the necessary funds at home. That claim is patently without substance. Grants-in-aid come either from taxes which the federal government collects from the citizens of the states and redistributes — less a brokerage fee and with strings attached — or from federal deficit financing paid for by inflation.

Until the early part of the twentieth century, state governments were largely law-making and law-enforcing agencies. The idea of the service

state was barely known. States took little or no responsibility in the building or maintenance of roads, they did not participate in public assistance nor other public welfare services; activities for the conservation and development of natural resources were at best nominal; industrial safety, industrial insurance, pollution control and many other functions were unheard of. States maintained insane asylums that were a far cry from the mental treatment centers they operate today; they ran state prisons and a few small normal schools and colleges; they contributed little to the support of common schools. Regulatory activities in the professional and utility fields were rudimentary. Technical service and advice to local areas were non-existent.

Services Increase

The need and demand for a multitude of public services skyrocketed in the first half of the twentieth century largely because of problems created by industrialization, urbanization, the greater mobility of our population, more rapid communications and in general the progress in technology. The eradication of many once dreaded diseases with the help of public health services lengthened the human life span by twenty years, which in turn created problems of support and care.

We tend increasingly to look to government for the solution to our problems. As levels of personal consumption rise to new heights, demands for expanded public services of higher standards multiply. We now expect that society not only protect us against the adversities of life

but also indemnify us for misfortune, that it increasingly relieve family groups of part of the responsibility for their dependent members, for the young, the old and the afflicted.

What has been the response of state government to the challenge of the twentieth century?

Let me give you a few data on the changes that occurred between 1902 — the year of the census of governments closest to 1900 — and 1954:

The population of the United States doubled, prices tripled.

Costs Rise

If state governments had maintained their services at the same level they would now be spending a little over six times as much as they did in 1902. Actually states spent in 1954 just 99 times as much as they did in 1902. They were helped in 1954 through federal grants-in-aid to the extent of 14 per cent; in other words, six dollars out of every seven dollars the states spent came from their own sources. Not counting federal funds, state expenditures multiplied 86 times between 1902 and 1954; that is fourteen times faster than the rise in population and prices. In no comparable time in history has any free government expanded at such a rate nor adjusted its activities as rapidly to changing economic and social conditions. State government was restrained only by a reluctance of the people to increase their tax burden at a faster rate.

During that period the national income multiplied twenty times. But state services — measured by expenditures — grew four times faster than the national income. In 1900 there

was one state governmental employee (not including school employees) for every 950 persons in the population; by 1955 there was one for every 195 persons.

State activities did not grow at an even pace. They rose much faster in the first 30 years of the twentieth century than they did subsequently. Between 1902 and 1932 state expenditures — not including those from federal funds — multiplied nine times in dollars of constant value; since 1932 they multiplied three times. Between 1902 and 1932 state expenditures grew four times as fast as the national income; between 1932 and 1954 state expenditures barely matched the growth rate of the national income.

Depression and war had something to do with that. For fifteen years now, war and the recurring threat of war have forced the nation to give precedence to the demands of defense, to devote a greater share of its products to military purposes, and to accord a lower priority to the domestic consumption of goods and services, both public and private.

Federal taxation has been a major influence in shaping state fiscal policies. Between 1902 and 1932 the federal government claimed between 3 per cent and 5 per cent of the national income — except during World War I. During the middle '30s the federal tax take started rising; it reached 10 per cent of the national income by 1941 and has been running between 20 per cent and 25 per cent ever since 1944. This heavy load pushed the total tax burden to the limit which the American people were willing to bear in peace time or which

the economy was able to sustain in the long run without losing its capacity for expansion. It made it economically and politically impossible for state and local governments to increase their share of the national income. The states' share of the national income dropped during the war, and has only in recent years regained its prewar position; the local government share is far below its earlier levels. In 1932 state and local taxes claimed 12.4 per cent of the national income, in 1954 they took only 7.3 per cent.

Progress of the states has been uneven. Some activities have advanced faster than others. Some states have acted as pacesetters, others are lagging behind. Some states have strained their fiscal resources and others displayed only modest efforts. It is undeniable that in certain respects the states have not lived up to their responsibilities, that some of them have been slow to recognize the urgency of needs, and have not provided the services or facilities which their citizens expected.

Education Costly

Probably the most important service rendered by the states — and the most costly one — is in the field of education. Until 1900 states discharged their responsibility for common schools largely by creating local school districts or other local units with taxing powers and by modest subsidies. Between 1902 and 1954 state contributions to public schools rose from \$45,000,000 to \$3,000,000,000, local contributions from \$200,000,000 to \$5,000,000,000. Between 1900 and 1954 the number of

school-age children (5-17 years) rose 67 per cent, daily attendance in public schools 150 per cent. We are now spending six times as much in dollars of constant value per pupil. A greater percentage of our youth is attending school than ever before in history or in any other country; the educational opportunities available to our boys and girls are on a scale unknown elsewhere in the world.

We are painfully aware of critical shortages of teachers and of classrooms all over the nation, caused partly by a lack of funds. In some areas conditions are deplorable and call for drastic action. Many states are catching up but others leave much to be desired. It is clear that the nation cannot look on indefinitely while part of its youth is attending school under conditions which most Americans would not regard as acceptable.

States have maintained colleges for a long time. But only in recent years have they been called upon to shoulder the major burden for higher education in the United States. States' contributions to higher education rose from \$13,000,000 in 1902 to over a billion in 1954. Around the turn of the century about one youth in 25 attended college; this ratio still prevails in Great Britain and other European countries. At the present time about one American youth out of three enters college. In a few years our colleges will face the tidal wave now moving through our elementary schools. It is well that we lay plans in sufficient time to meet the problem, lest the federal government be asked to enter this field with a major program.

The next largest service of the states is highways.

There were virtually no state highways in the country at the turn of the twentieth century. Since then, the states have constructed the greatest highway system in the world, 600,000 miles of state highways besides 2,500,000 miles of local roads or streets. In each of the past five years state highway departments have built over 50,000 miles of roads. In 1946 state governments spent \$1,000,000,000 on highways; in 1948 \$2,000,000,000; in 1954 more than \$4,000,000,000. State and local governments together spent in 1954 \$6,000,000,000 on roads. They raised 90 per cent of these funds and derived 10 per cent from federal aid.

In spite of this spectacular increase we must all agree that our roads are sorely inadequate. States have not raised their revenues fast enough to catch up with the war-accumulated backlog and the skyrocketing traffic. The national administration has now proposed that for the next ten years the federal government accept the major responsibility for financing a complete modernization of the 42,000-mile interstate highway system. This should enable the states to allot greater funds to the more than one-half million miles of other state roads. But they will have to increase their efforts at an even faster pace if they are to maintain a major role in the highway field.

Reasons for Expansion

These two examples, of schools and roads, may suffice to demonstrate some of the reasons for the expansion in federal activity. In areas of na-

tional concern, inadequate state action sooner or later leads to federal intervention. The federal government may either take over certain functions or stimulate states into greater activity by grants-in-aid.

In the past two decades close to 50 programs of federal aid were enacted, extending over a wide variety of fields. They have helped establish numerous useful activities and elevated standards in many vital services. In many respects they have been a healthy and beneficial influence. There is nothing inherently wrong with federal grants — as long as they are taken in small doses. The trouble is that getting money the easy way is as habit-forming as taking narcotics.

Public officials at state and local levels, aiming to please various interest groups, try to provide the maximum in desired services and facilities. They are restrained by the painful necessity of presenting their constituents with a bill. State and local services carry a price tag because state and local budgets generally must be balanced. The new school building, the new road, higher welfare checks may mean another per cent on the sales tax, another cent on the gas tax, an extra five mills on the property tax or lower exemptions on the income tax. If the people have the alternative between paying higher taxes and foregoing a service they may often vote for the latter.

At the federal level there is no identifiable connection between the advocacy of higher appropriations and the responsibility for raising taxes. The proponents of federal expenditures for some desirable and beneficial purposes are under no pains

to stand up and be counted for higher tax rates. The names of the acts of Congress establishing major grant-in-aid programs are generally well known: the Hill-Burton act, the Clark-McNary act, to mention only two. But whoever heard of a tax bill named after those or any other congressmen?

It is understandable that representatives are eager to claim credit for the "manna from heaven" they secure for their constituencies. Their record will popularly be judged by the amount of bacon they bring home in the form of federal money. Why? Because in most people's minds federal money comes for free.

They do have a point. In the past five years federal aid to the states totalled \$13,800,000,000, the budget deficit \$17,600,000,000. So, it seems that nobody had to pay for these benefits. That charm is hard to beat. Who wants to shoot Santa Claus? Only three out of the past 25 federal budgets were balanced; meanwhile we piled up a national debt of \$280,000,000,000.

Easy Money?

The system of evading responsibility and seemingly getting something for nothing naturally whets the appetite of ambitious politicians for glory and of special interest groups for more of the easy money. Eventually, the system of depending increasingly on central government support must lead to central government domination. The only way out is to deal with the American people honestly and squarely in presenting to them the bill for whatever services they wish. I believe that our citizens

are able and competent to judge between the essential and the gingerbread, that they are willing and ready to pay for the cost of good roads, good schools, good care for the dependent and afflicted unable to care for themselves. I think that the people are way ahead of the politicians who think that they have to wrap it up nicely and hide the cost.

I can see no reason why we should not raise at state and local levels the funds necessary to support the essential services that must be performed. There is no magic in the federal treasury beyond its ability to run up debts of astronomic proportions. In 1932 the gross federal debt equalled 20 per cent of the national income; state and local indebtedness was of the same magnitude. By 1954 the gross federal debt had grown to 98 per cent of the national income while state and local debt had shrunk to 12½ per cent. Interest on the debt alone absorbs 10 per cent of the federal budget; interest on state debts amounts to only 1 per cent of all state expenditures, interest on local debts 3 per cent of local expenditures. Twenty years ago, interest payments took about four times as large a slice of state and local expenditures. Another significant sidelight on state and local fiscal ability: In the past five years state and local governments increased their investments in federal securities by more than all other investors combined. They seem to be in a better position to take on responsibilities than the debt-ridden federal government.

The crux of the federal-state problem lies in the financial field. What we have to do at state and local levels

is face up to the facts and quit looking to Washington for ever greater subsidies. A reduction in the federal tax burden is the best avenue to enable state and local governments to get on their own feet. We had a major federal tax cut last year, may possibly get another next year. The keynote in governors' messages to the 42 state legislatures which met in January of this year was extension of services and acceptance of the fiscal responsibility for them. Legislative action so far indicates that the year 1955 may see more and heavier state tax boosts enacted than any year in recent history.

Shortcomings

There are other fields in which many states have failed to live up to expectations. Some of these shortcomings seriously affect the ability of states to exercise their duties in our federal system. The most important seem to be:

1. The structural organization of many state governments has become obsolete. We have reached a point where the ability of state government to work effectively and to discharge its duties efficiently is severely handicapped. Little Hoover commissions in more than 30 states prepared recommendations for organizational improvements. They stressed executive management, unity of command, limited span of control, a strong and comprehensive budget system, single-head departments, centralized auxiliary services. The legislative acceptance of these proposals has been discouraging. Actual accomplishments in most states have been moderate or negligible. There is

an unfortunate lack of understanding of the compelling reasons and the urgency for integration of the state administrative structure.

2. State government has been conspicuously unable to compete with the federal government or with private industry for administrative talent. Obviously, no government can be better than the quality and competence of its employees. Fewer than half the states have a statewide merit system; in the majority of the states, employees outside of certain federal-aid departments are subject to the vagaries of elections every few years. There has been considerable improvement in the professionalization and the salary levels in certain specialized areas; this is not true in the field of general administration.

3. Legislative reapportionment is essential if state legislatures are to be representative of all their residents. For many years urban areas have complained they are being discriminated against in the allocation of legislative seats. Unable to get adequate hearing or consideration of their problems from their state legislature, cities have been tending to appeal to the national government for assistance in their legitimate needs. This lack of balance could be taken care of at the state level by cooperation and greater understanding of urban problems.

4. Over 100,000 governments exist and operate in the United States, more than half of them school districts. Many were carved out under an economic and settlement pattern that passed decades ago and do not have sufficient resources to provide their residents with adequate services

at reasonable cost. The crazy-quilt pattern of co-existing, overlapping governmental units in some of our metropolitan areas is beyond belief. Consolidated government of those areas may be the cure for suburbanitis and other ills afflicting our cities. County government, that dark continent in our governmental structure, needs a thorough overhaul. The pioneer work of the National Municipal League in the fields of county and city government ought to receive greater appreciation and recognition by state legislatures. True home rule and local responsibility cannot become a reality unless the states create or facilitate the creation of units of local government which are large enough in terms of area, population and economic resources to stand on their own feet, finance their own services and run their own affairs.

5. In most states administration of the property tax, the mainstay of local finance, is scandalous. The inequity and unrealistic level of assessments make a mockery of constitutional and statutory provisions for uniformity and assessment standards. The abuse of the property tax cuts the taxing and bonding powers of local governments to a fraction of their entitlement, it prevents them from rendering essential services and makes them more dependent upon state aid. Few actions can contribute more toward restoring the vitality of local government than an honest and fair reassessment program which — as has been proven — must be directed from the state level.

6. State government has failed to sell itself to the public. Most people are far better informed about the na-

tional government or about their local government and officials than about the manifold activities and vital services of state government. Newspapers and magazines give much less coverage to state government news particularly. In this they reflect the general lack of interest which is due in part to our failure to tell about the investment in state government and the dividends in the form of services. The federal government is in the news all the time because the worldwide problems of the cold war have become our first item of interest. Also, it would be difficult not to be interested in an enterprise that takes about one quarter out of every dollar we earn. Local government, our cities, school districts, etc., and their officials are physically close, affect us more directly in our everyday life. State government falls somewhat in between and somehow seems to fall between the two stools. State government must take the initiative in finding media to lay its case before the public.

Burden Will Increase

These points may sound like a big bill. They are and they need to be because the states are facing an unprecedented task. In the next ten years the population of the United States will grow by 25,000,000, the greatest increase in any ten-year period in our history. In 1954, 58 per cent of our population was in the most productive age bracket, twenty to 64 years. But less than one third of the 25,000,000 increase we expect will be in that group; more than seventeen million will be under twenty or over 64. You can easily see what that will mean in terms of

the public service burden — in schools, hospitals, welfare institutions and care for the young, homes and support of the aged. And let's not forget that we are starting out with a multi-billion dollar backlog in facilities and with service standards that need to be raised to higher levels.

Under our traditional division of functions most of these responsibilities are in the realm of the states and communities. Will they be able to meet them? Or should we gradually relieve them of part of their duties? A man whose duties are being eased is usually the one who is being readied for retirement. A man's stature and position are measured by the extent of his responsibilities not by his rights. The significant trend of the past 25 years has not been that the federal government invaded states' rights but that it assumed part of the states' duties. That may have been the fault of the states as much as that of the federal government. I am convinced that most of what the federal government did for the states was for the good. But good government is no substitute for self-government.

Almost half a century ago Elihu Root said, "If the powers of the states are to be preserved, and their authority is to be continued, the states must exercise their powers. The only way to maintain the powers of government is to govern." We cannot

strengthen the states by lessening their responsibilities. The degree to which states will get ready and meet their greater responsibilities will determine their future position in our federal system. If they fail, no claim or definition of historic states' rights will have any meaning.

CIVIC VICTORIES IN U.S.

(Continued from page 402)

open terrain. In your day, Mr. Stevens, that outcome was our conjecture; in these days it is fact.

Listen again, James Bryce! That unique buoyant faith in the possibility of better things which you discerned in the American spirit 60 years ago—look at it now, triumphant beyond your hopes. We know what it was that fouled the democratic process here in your time. We have tested our corrections of that process and the results are consistently vindicating our faith that the American people are all right, that democracy can be made practical and true to the original promise of American life.

And in this shaking modern world, when governments without the consent of the governed ride high in arrogant insolence, what is more worth demonstrating than that our democracy is clearing itself from the pollutions of the past and shall not perish from the earth?

News in Review

City, State and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

City Redevelopment Makes Progress

Now Provided for in 2/3 of States

WITH adoption of an urban redevelopment constitutional amendment by Rhode Island voters at a special referendum on three amendments on July 12, (see page 421), and the passage of new or revised enabling legislation in several states this year, at least two-thirds of all the states now have provisions for urban redevelopment or renewal. These include the use of the power of eminent domain to acquire blighted urban areas for purposes of redevelopment, including the right to sell such land to private persons operating under a redevelopment plan.

According to the National Association of Housing and Redevelopment Officials, a redevelopment enabling law adopted this year in North Dakota made it the 31st state (plus five territories) to have such legislation. Four more states are reported to have redevelopment laws that have either been held to be unconstitutional or found to be unworkable; but two of these—Georgia and Kansas—passed laws this year to correct that situation.

The Georgia urban redevelopment law of 1955 was drafted to conform to a constitutional amendment adopted by the voters in 1954 after previous redevelopment legislation had been held unconstitutional by the state Supreme Court. It was also planned to take advantage of the federal housing act of 1954, which uses the term "renewal" rather than "redevelopment" and fosters rehabilitation and conservation of neighborhoods as well as clearance of uneconomic slum areas.

At least seven states and one territory—Alaska—have now enacted laws to amend redevelopment legislation so that it can be applied to urban renewal plans. The states are Connecticut, Maine (for Portland only), Massachusetts, Minnesota, Missouri, Tennessee and Wisconsin. Colorado defeated such a bill. Redevelopment enabling bills were also defeated this year in New Mexico, Texas and Washington.

Indiana's legislature passed amendments to its redevelopment law that applies to cities other than Indianapolis in order to correct inconsistencies in financing methods.

Maryland Makes Home Rule Amendment Effective

The 1955 Maryland legislature adopted laws to implement the home rule constitutional amendment adopted by referendum in November 1954 (see the REVIEW, December 1954, page 587).

The legislative provisions cover the amendment, repeal and adoption of charters, incorporation of new municipalities, termination of existing municipalities, annexations, bonds and other borrowings, and referenda on maximum tax rates or debt limits set by the legislature.

Charters may be amended or repealed or new charters may be adopted by majority vote of the membership of a municipal council, with the right of 20 per cent of the voters to demand a referendum by petition. Charter changes may also be petitioned for by 20 per cent of the voters.

Annexation of new territory may be proposed by the city council, after obtaining signatures of 25 per cent of the residents in the new area and the owners of 25 per cent of the property value therein. Referenda may be demanded by 20

per cent either of the city's voters or of those in the area sought to be annexed.

Council-Manager Plan Developments

PROVO, UTAH, (1950 population 28,937) voted on August 2 to adopt a home rule, council-manager charter, 2,400 to 2,375. About 30 per cent of the registration voted. The change in government is to take place January 1, 1956. Provo will be the eleventh Utah city under the council-manager plan. It now has the commission plan.

HARTSHORNE, OKLAHOMA, (2,330) voted 565 to 246 on August 2 to adopt the statutory council-manager plan.

In **PATCHOGUE, NEW YORK**, (7,361) the village board voted six to one on July 25 to adopt the village manager plan. The vote was after a public hearing.

The International City Managers' Association reports a total of 1,313 council-manager cities and counties as of July 1, and states that 38 were added since January 1. Places listed by the ICMA but not previously reported in these columns include five CALIFORNIA cities—DAVIS (3,554), FULLERTON (13,958), GLENDORA (3,998), SAN LUIS OBISPO (14,180) and TEHACHAPI (1,685); also HOMESTEAD, FLORIDA, (4,573); GROSSE POINTE FARMS, MICHIGAN, (9,410); LOVINGTON, NEW MEXICO, (3,134); INDIANA, PENNSYLVANIA, (11,743); GRAND PRAIRIE, TEXAS, (14,594); and LONGUEUIL, QUEBEC, (11,103).

In **GARDINER, MAINE**, the city council has set September 12 as the date for a special referendum on a new council-manager charter authorized by the state legislature.

In **ANDOVER, MASSACHUSETTS**, the town moderator, as authorized by the voters, has appointed a five-man committee to study the advisability of the town manager or other executive type of government. It is to report back at the next annual town meeting.

An effort by a Democratic member of the **HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT**, city council to submit to a referendum a proposal to discard the manager plan was defeated, seven to one, on June 13. The council is now controlled six to three by the Democratic party.

On July 27 voters of **MORRISTOWN, TENNESSEE**, defeated a proposal for adoption of the council-manager plan. The vote was 900 to 625.

The **KERNERSVILLE, NORTH CAROLINA**, board of aldermen is studying the question of employing a city manager, preferably an engineer.

In **ABBEVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA**, the Committee for City Manager, a citizen group, has approved a proposed council-manager charter draft calling for a council of five, including the mayor. Circulation of petitions seeking a referendum has been contemplated.

In **ORMOND BEACH, FLORIDA**, the charter board has been engaged in drafting a council-manager charter.

The city council of **SHAKER HEIGHTS, OHIO**, (suburb of Cleveland) voted on July 25 to create a committee to consider proposed charter amendments to establish the council-manager plan. A referendum would be held in November.

The charter commission of **TROY, MICHIGAN**, has agreed to a proposal for a seven-member city commission which would appoint a city manager.

The city council of **CHAMPAIGN, ILLINOIS**, voted four to one on June 28 to have the city attorney prepare an ordinance for conversion of the city's government to the council-manager plan. The dissenting vote was cast by Mayor Virgil F. Lafferty. At a council meeting on July 19 it appeared that an ordinance had been drafted, but the city attorney agreed to obtain copies of corresponding ordinances from other cities, particularly some that had converted from the commission plan to the manager plan.

The Government Affairs Committee of **EDWARDSVILLE, ILLINOIS**, has been study-

ing the council-manager plan. A poll of 275 members some months ago showed a majority of three to one for the manager plan in the 78 questionnaires returned.

The city council of RUSSELLVILLE, ARKANSAS, unanimously approved a motion for the mayor to appoint a committee of seven or more citizens to study the question of whether the mayor should be on a full-time basis or the city council should appoint a city manager.

CLARKSDALE, MISSISSIPPI, rejected a proposal to adopt the council-manager plan by a vote of 1,008 to 870 on July 5.

The city council of LEWISTON, IDAHO, is considering adoption of the council-manager plan.

At a meeting of the AZUSA, CALIFORNIA, city council on July 18 a resolution offered by Mayor L. G. Memmesheimer, to submit the question of adopting the council-manager plan to the people at the April 1956 election, was unanimously adopted.

The city council of BANNING, CALIFORNIA, is making a study of the council-manager plan.

In SAN PABLO, CALIFORNIA, a proposal to adopt the council-manager plan, advocated by Mayor Roy H. Cleek, is being studied by the council, which sought expression of public opinion on the matter.

The International City Managers' Association reports the following state meetings of city managers in April and May in addition to the meetings in those months noted in the July REVIEW at page 372: the ninth annual short course for Florida managers was held in Naples, Florida, April 24-27, with 38 managers present; 11 of 18 Iowa managers met at Ames, May 20-21; 14 of 23 Massachusetts managers met in Newton, June 2; Pennsylvania managers held their seventh annual conference at Philadelphia, May 5-7; 13 of 21 Vermont managers met at Brattleboro, May 19, together with four New Hampshire managers; 41 Virginia managers held a semi-annual meeting at Staunton, May 6-7.

President Ross E. Windom of the ICMA, in his annual report for the year ending June 30, 1955, gives the following data as to manager cities in population groups down to 1,000 (exclusive of 218 managers of counties, townships, municipalities under 1,000 population and cities outside the U.S.):

<i>Population Group</i>	<i>Manager Cities</i>	<i>Percentage of All Cities in Group</i>
100,000-500,000	33	37.5
50,000-100,000	57	45.2
25,000-50,000	111	45.9
10,000-25,000	288	38.3
5,000-10,000	294	26.9
2,500-5,000	205	13.2
1,000-2,500	107	3.1

The ICMA holds its 41st annual conference at the Mount Washington Hotel, Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, October 5-8.

Minneapolis Rejects

Four-year Aldermanic Terms

In Minneapolis on June 13 the voters defeated for the second time in nine months a proposed charter amendment to change the term of alderman to four years, staggered, from two years non-staggered. It received a 51 per cent vote, but 60 per cent was required.

An amendment providing for municipal elections on Tuesdays instead of Mondays was adopted by a 70 per cent favorable vote. It was initiated by the Citizens League as a move toward stimulating voter turnout.

Home Rule Stressed

at Massachusetts Meeting

At a conference called by Governor Christian A. Herter for June 21-22, to consider state, county and municipal relationships, home rule was a particularly

vital topic. The county aspects are described at page 429 of this issue.

The conference received a request from the Home Rule Association of Massachusetts for assistance from organizations of public officials in developing a legislative program to further home rule. The president of the Home Rule Association, F. A. Harrington of Worcester, brought to the conference a proposal for appointment of a committee of representatives from the County Commissioners' Association, the Selectmen's Association and the mayors' and managers' associations. If appointed, the committee will work with the home rule group in preparing home rule bills for the 1956 session of the legislature.

Among other questions discussed at the meeting were school construction costs, municipal pensions and uniform assessments. The conference passed resolutions favoring adoption of uniform appraisals and equalized evaluation, continuing the pension study and the school construction costs study, and inaugurating a study of problems growing out of the state's taking property of political subdivisions by eminent domain and without compensation.

The conference chairman was also authorized to appoint a committee to study the report of the federal Commission on Intergovernmental Relations and its possible effect on the state and to report its findings at the fall conference.

VICTORIA SCHUCK
Mount Holyoke College

R. I. Voters Defeat Two of Three Amendments

At a special election on July 12 the voters of Rhode Island passed upon three proposed constitutional amendments, submitted by the limited constitutional convention of June 20 (see the Review, July 1955, page 357). The results were as follows:

Salary increase for state legislators—defeated, 29,493 to 15,310.

Tenure and pension protection for Supreme and Superior Court judges—defeated, 31,294 to 13,261.

Power for cities and towns to redevelop blighted and substandard areas, including power to condemn private property for such purpose—approved, 29,216 to 15,149.

The total vote was about 10 per cent of the eligible vote of 442,262.

The *Providence Journal* commented editorially on July 13, under the heading "Tuesday's Lesson: Gimmicks Won't Do":

"With remarkably uniform discrimination Rhode Island voters last Tuesday disposed of three proposed constitutional amendments by approximately two-to-one margins. There can be no shadow of doubt about the feeling of the electorate on the questions that had been prepared by the constitutional convention last month.

"For the fourth time since 1950, voters rejected a proposal to establish new tenure and pension provisions for judges of the higher courts and for the third time since 1950 they turned down a plan for a pay increase to members of the General Assembly. Yet by the same margin of votes, the electorate approved a redevelopment amendment on its first trip to the polls. . . .

"There's no question that many voters disapproved the pay raise and tenure amendments for reasons which had little to do with the content of the proposals. In Blackstone Valley, for instance, substantial opposition to the pay raise plan was generated by groups which resent the General Assembly's handling of home rule issues. . . .

"There's also no question that many who voted against these two amendments were voting against the terms of the proposals, not the principles involved. In effect, this large group was saying that it is sick and tired of the repeated attempts to palm off poor amendments on the electorate.

"There is a real need for a pay raise

for the legislators and a strengthened tenure system for the judges. But if the effort to achieve these goals is to be successful, the enabling amendments must contain standards and safeguards which were lacking in the questions before the voters last Tuesday."

Largely through the vigorous action and prodding of the *Providence Journal*, serious vote frauds in the referendum in Providence were revealed and to some extent officially investigated. They were concentrated particularly in Ward 13 and included the marking of many ballots in the names of persons not appearing at the polls. In one district a police check indicated that less than 50 out of 300 alleged voters at the election had actually gone to the polls.

The fraudulent voting did not appear to be extensive enough to change the overall results.

The *Providence Evening Bulletin*, sister paper of the *Journal*, said editorially: "The discovery of mass vote frauds at polling places in four Providence wards during the special statewide election July 12 makes very plain the need for a drastic shakeup within the organization of the city's two major political parties.

"Candidates for polling-place jobs are offered by ward organizations of both parties. Responsibility for operating the polling places is divided evenly between the parties. Until the vote thieves are identified both parties share the shadow of suspicion."

Amending Constitution Made Easier in Connecticut

In a light vote at a special election in Connecticut on July 26 a constitutional amendment facilitating future amendments was approved, 22,922 to 4,489. The amendment, approved by the last legislature for submission to popular vote, changes article 11 of the state constitution, which required that amendments must be approved by "a majority of the

electors present." The words "and voting on such amendments" are now added.

Heretofore it has been feared that amendments submitted at general elections and approved by a majority of those voting on the amendments, but not by a majority of all voters present at the general election, were not valid. Accordingly most amendments in recent years have been submitted at special elections, at heavy expense. In 1953 a special election was held at which 47 amendments previously approved by majorities voting thereon were reapproved. The vote on amendments both at special and general elections has usually been small.

With the approval of the new amendment it will be practicable to submit future amendments at general elections.

British Columbia Revises Municipal Legislation

A complete revision of the legislation affecting municipalities in the province of British Columbia is being undertaken by the Department of Municipal Affairs, headed by Minister Wesley D. Black.

The actual drafting has been placed in the hands of B. C. Bracewell, who retired a year ago from the post of deputy minister of municipal affairs and inspector of municipalities. He has had over 40 years in municipal life in the province, of which sixteen years were spent with the Department of Municipal Affairs.

Recognition of the autonomous characteristics of municipal government will continue as a watchword. Supervisory powers will be kept to a minimum, with as much freedom as practical allowed in the exercise of powers within a municipality. It is likely that a number of the present separate acts will be combined in one statute and that three types of urban municipality will be provided for, viz., cities, towns and villages. A continuation of district municipalities as at present will care for rural areas requiring municipal organization.

The legislation being reviewed does

not deal with the city of Vancouver, as that municipality operates under its own charter. There are at present 113 municipal corporations—35 cities, 29 districts and 49 villages—over which the inspector of municipalities has supervision. All money by-laws have to receive his approval before being submitted to the electors. Since a measure of supervision was inaugurated, the standing of British Columbia municipalities has vastly improved over that obtaining in the early years of the present century.

Municipal leaders are reported to be wholeheartedly behind the government in its decision to overhaul and rewrite legislation dealing with municipalities. Both the minister and the present inspector, J. E. Brown, are actively participating in the endeavor and are determined that there will be available an up-to-date, workable and adequate municipal act.

Illinois Obtains Streamlined Personnel Department

Passage by the Illinois legislature in its closing minutes of a new personnel code, that will make possible sweeping changes in state government personnel administration and civil service, has been hailed by the Taxpayers' Federation of Illinois as the brightest spot in the legislative record of the session. The code creates a new Department of Personnel with a director of cabinet status to be appointed by the governor.¹

During the next two years the director and his staff are to prepare rules, make a position classification and pay plan, set up a personnel organization and take all the steps preparatory to the change-over from the present antiquated hodge-podge to the new streamlined system on July 1, 1957.

The rules and position classification plan must be approved before the change-over date by the Civil Service Commiss-

sion, which will then become a watchdog agency to see that the rules are followed by the Department of Personnel and to hear employee appeals from disciplinary action. The proposed pay plan must also be reviewed before the change-over by the commission and forwarded to the governor, with its recommendations, for final action.

The code also provides for an advisory board of personnel experts to advise the personnel director, Civil Service Commission and governor, and also to check on the operation of the program.

The change-over date was scheduled for July 1, 1956, in the code as it passed the House, but it was necessary to agree to a delay to July 1, 1957, to get the code approved in the Senate. It was also necessary to agree to exemption of engineers and technical staffs of the Department of Public Works and Buildings and Commerce Commission. The code as introduced was the result of over a year's work by a legislative commission, assisted by the Civil Service Commission and Taxpayers' Federation staffs.

Alaska Constitution Convention Meets in November

The constitutional convention provided for by the 1955 Alaska legislature is to convene on November 8 at the University of Alaska at Fairbanks. Out of 55 delegates seven will be elected at large in Alaska as a whole, 31 will be elected at large within the four judicial divisions and the remainder will be chosen by local districts. The election will be held on September 13.

The convention is limited to 75 days but may recess for not more than 15 days to hold public hearings on proposed provisions of the constitution. An appropriation of \$300,000 has been made to defray the election and convention expenses. In addition the Alaska Statehood Committee has been granted \$75,000, chiefly for research. The information that it as-

¹ See also the REVIEW, May 1955, page 255.

semblies will be made available to both the delegates and to Alaska citizens generally.

VICTOR FISCHER,
Executive Secretary
League of Alaskan Cities

Connecticut Interrelations Study Brings Few Results

The Connecticut legislature this year has had before it eighteen bills to carry out recommendations of the Commission to Investigate the Relationship Between the State and Its Subdivisions, but adopted only five.

The commission was appointed in July 1953, by Governor John Lodge, pursuant to legislative authorization and, under date of December 30, 1954, rendered its report, a printed booklet of 90 pages entitled *State and Local Governmental Relationships in Connecticut*. The seven members, including the state tax commissioner, were from seven different communities and were headed by Herbert S. MacDonald of North Haven. They had an appropriation of only \$10,000, but obtained a large amount of assistance from collegiate and other research agencies. The research director was Hubert W. Stone, lent by the Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, for which he is municipal consulting service director.

One of the most needed reforms, authorized by the legislature largely as a result of the commission's study, was the transfer of neglected and uncared-for children, heretofore committed to the county commissioners, to the State Welfare Department. The commission had found that the existing division of responsibility between the state and the counties has resulted in inefficiency, lack of uniformity in policy and practice, and inequitable treatment of the children. It urged that shifting responsibility to the Welfare Department would justify the retention and insure the economical use

of highly skilled personnel in administering a child welfare program.

Another successful recommendation was one to enable towns, cities and boroughs to establish metropolitan districts, so that certain municipal functions can be more economically and equitably supplied. The legislature also passed a bill concerning municipal districts. The commission had pointed out that various functions, such as public health service, education, city and regional planning, highways, welfare and assessing may be beyond the financial reach of a single town or city but could be provided at moderate cost if shared by several in a regional district.

In regard to highways the commission advocated an increase in the state gasoline tax from four to five cents per gallon in order to provide funds for urgently needed construction. It also recommended replacement of the personal property tax on motor vehicles by an excise tax, with valuations set by the state tax commissioner on the basis of a standard pricing schedule, and furnished to the assessors for use as part of the base for local taxation. The legislature rejected the latter plan but increased the gasoline tax to six cents.

The remaining bill adopted dealt with appointment of local fire marshals, giving preference to members of local fire departments or volunteer fire companies, a practice which the commission found to facilitate satisfactory working relationships between the state fire marshal and local marshals in the discharge of their respective fire prevention and investigatory functions.

Among important recommendations that failed were one to amend the home rule act so as to permit charter changes submitted to referendum at a general election to be approved by a simple majority of those voting on the question; one to increase the amount of state aid to local education, to be financed by an

increase in the sales tax; one to establish a research and information bureau in the State Tax Department; and one to provide state-owned and operated correctional facilities for the custody and rehabilitation of offenders sentenced for more than 60 days and for alcoholics.

Illinois Redistricted for Legislative Seats

In conformity to the legislative reapportionment amendment to the Illinois constitution, adopted at the November 1954 election (see the REVIEW, December 1954, page 586), the legislature redistricted the state into 58 senatorial districts and 59 representative districts, each of the latter to elect three representatives. This was the first redistricting since 1951. Cook County, including the city of Chicago, will have 24 out of 58 senators and 90 out of 177 representatives. The number of Cook County representatives may change, because of population changes, in 1963 and every ten years thereafter.

Elections of three house members for two-year terms from each representative district will be held in 1956. Election for

one senator for a four-year term from each even-numbered senatorial district will also be held in 1956. Senator's from odd-numbered districts will be elected in 1958, except where two or more incumbents now reside in such a district or where no incumbent resides in such district. In these latter districts elections for two-year terms will be held in 1956.

Civil Service

Advances in Florida

The Florida legislature has enacted a civil service law empowering the governor and department heads to place employees in their control under civil service provisions. According to the National Civil Service League, Governor Le Roy Collins when signing the law announced: "I do not intend to bring under the merit system any agency that is overstaffed or that I am not satisfied is an efficient operation."

The legislature also approved a proposed constitutional provision permitting it to create state, county and municipal civil service systems. This is to be submitted to the voters in 1956.

County and Township*Edited by Victor Jones
and William N. Cassella, Jr.*

Asks Home Rule for Allegheny County

Study Commission Files Report with Legislature

EDITOR'S NOTE.—The article below has been prepared by DAVID H. KURTZMAN, who served as a member of the Metropolitan Study Commission of Allegheny County, representing the Pennsylvania Economy League, Inc., Western Division, and as its secretary. As director of research of the Economy League, he also served as the study's research director.

A REPORT on the problems of the Pittsburgh metropolitan area has now been completed by the Metropolitan Study Commission of Allegheny County, Pennsylvania. Entailing two years of work on the part of a large number of people, it has been submitted to the governor and the General Assembly of Pennsylvania.¹ The commission recommends a home rule charter for the county, assigning to it various functions now performed by municipalities.

The study of metropolitan government in the Pittsburgh region is not novel. For the past 50 years pressures have been exerted by the major metropolitan newspapers, civic groups and both political parties to arrive at some solution to the problem. For the most part, the controversy has revolved around the question of unification of the area, federation or status quo. The latter has been the winner so far.

Following World War II and its ensuing home building boom which spread

into suburban areas, the need for some planned action became even more apparent. Many civic leaders of Allegheny County, in which Pittsburgh is the major municipality and the county seat, felt that this huge housing boom, plus the large scale expansion of population around the central city, increased the number and complexity of governmental services to such an extent that a long-range view should be taken and recommendations made for the future. These groups felt that, unless steps were taken to meet these problems, the Pittsburgh area, which has made such tremendous strides in its physical rehabilitation, would not be able to enjoy the full fruits of its labor.

In order to remove any issue as to whether this was a pro-city or anti-city movement, it was decided to ask the state legislature to create a commission. Accordingly, an act was passed by the 1951 session of the General Assembly creating the Metropolitan Study Commission. The membership of the commission consisted of fourteen persons appointed by the governor from nominations made to him by a stated group of civic, labor and governmental organizations. The purpose of the commission as expressed in the act was "to promote the uniform development of Allegheny County."

While this act became law in January 1952, delay in appointment of the commission and need for the extension of the law affected the commission's ability to get started. It was not until May 1953 that organization was completed.

The commission requested the Pennsylvania Economy League, Inc., Western Division, to act as its research agency. To finance this research, a grant of \$50,000 was made by the Buhl Foundation of Pittsburgh to the league. There were no strings attached to the grant except that

¹*An Urban Home Rule Charter for Allegheny County. A Report of the Metropolitan Study Commission for Allegheny County. Pittsburgh, June 1955, 304 pages.*

the commission not engage in lobbying activities.

In initiating its assignment the commission agreed it would start with no preconceived ideas or conclusions but would concern itself with a study of the facts relating to the development of the 129 municipalities within Allegheny County and determine how the problems attendant on the expanding growth of the county might best be met.

Approach to the Study

The commission's approach involved a comprehensive study of the various operations of all governmental agencies of the county in terms of the degree of services rendered and the administrative practices in effect with the aim of determining:

1. Those functions which can be satisfactorily administered at present and in the foreseeable future by existing governmental units and need no change in assignment;

2. Those functions where the responsible governmental units, because of the size or nature of their requirements, cannot adequately provide the complete services required, which can be better carried out through cooperative efforts with other municipalities or merger;

3. Those functions which are county-wide in nature and should be administered on a county-wide basis.

The commission agreed it was not feasible for every member to make a thorough and detailed study of the entire range of governmental functions and services. Since it also wished to avail itself of the experience and thought of qualified citizens in various fields, it appointed ten committees which were assigned the task of studying related groups of governmental activities and reporting their findings and recommendations to the commission as a whole.

Allegheny County, which is normally considered as the Pittsburgh metropolitan area, lies in the southwestern part of

Pennsylvania. Within its relatively small area of 745.39 square miles lives a population of over 1,515,000.

The area constituting the present city of Pittsburgh accounted for 66 per cent of the county's total population in 1880. By 1950 this percentage declined to 45. Practically all the suburban residential communities felt this outward expansion of population. Our projection of population forecasts that by 1970 the population of the county will reach 1,700,000 and that most of that growth will take place in the suburban areas while the central industrial communities will show little gain, or possibly population losses. If the population distribution as forecast materializes, by 1970 practically the entire county will have an urban character.

Pattern of Government

Within the county are several types of governmental units. Each has its own basic powers, functions and organizational structure established by the legislature. In addition to the county government, there are 129 municipalities — the city of Pittsburgh, three third-class cities, 78 boroughs, 23 first-class townships and 24 second-class townships — and 116 school districts.

The functions of the county are broad and varied. They include administration of elections and registration of voters, assessment of property for taxing purposes, administration of criminal justice, recording of deeds and other evidences of property and personal indebtedness, administration of wills, construction and maintenance of roads and bridges, care of prisoners, institutional care and maintenance of dependents, planning, regulation of subdivisions, smoke control, administration of an air terminal and other duties.

Basically, many of the powers and functions of the cities, boroughs and townships are the same. Each has general corporate and police powers. Public works projects, primarily roads, constitute an important part of their activities.

With the exception of second-class townships, each is permitted to carry on a broad public health program. Each has broad planning and zoning powers and may provide subdivision and building regulations. All are empowered to offer refuse collection and disposal services. They may operate parks, playgrounds and other recreational facilities. Each may provide and support public libraries.

Public authorities have been added to the normal structure of government. These are public corporations established by state charter but directed by boards appointed by the parent municipality. Of the 72 that exist in Allegheny County, 64 were established by local municipalities or school districts, six were created jointly by two or more municipalities or school districts, and two were formed by the county itself.

Municipal operations are normally confined to individual communities. Authority activities in many cases have been approached on an area basis. A number of school districts participate in joint administrative operations.

Basic Conclusions

With this long established pattern of governmental organization, the commission concluded that the many problems facing this area are not likely to be met effectively by a single program or plan regardless of the ingenuity of the group preparing such a plan. Its approach differed radically from previous efforts to solve the area's metropolitan problems. Whereas, prior attempts have emphasized the need for changes in the governmental structure as the only and basic solution, this study placed its major emphasis on functions and their logical assignment to the various levels of government.

In the course of its deliberations, the commission assigned a number of significant functions now administered by the communities in varying degrees of effectiveness to the county. The decision was

based on the principle that those functions which are of area-wide importance can be administered most effectively and adequately on an area-wide basis. The commission concluded that the present structure of county government, designed by the framers of the constitution in 1874 when the county was largely rural, is not equipped to handle those additional functions. The commission also concluded that the structure cannot be improved sufficiently under existing constitutional provisions relating to county government.

The present constitution requires a board of three county commissioners acting as both chief executive officers and the legislative body. A large number of independently elected officials perform a great many functions largely related to the administration of justice. Administrative responsibility is diffused among a large number of independent officials, many of whom perform strictly ministerial duties. A proper division of legislative and executive responsibility is not feasible under present constitutional requirements.

The commission also concluded that the metropolitan area of Allegheny County had achieved a stage of growth which entitled it to a large measure of self-government.

After considering various alternative approaches, the commission recommended that the legislature submit an amendment to the Pennsylvania constitution which would permit the voters of Allegheny County to draft and adopt a home rule charter, such charter to be subject to approval by the voters. Any amendments to it are also to be approved by the voters. The commission referred to this proposed charter as the "Urban Home Rule Charter." This charter is to grant to Allegheny County all powers and authority of local self-government and to provide for a form of county government which is best suited to the metropolitan area.

It is premature to assess what might be the result of this latest effort. No legis-

lation has as yet been introduced. Despite the emphasis in the report that this study did not recommend the elimination of any governmental units, however, opposition has already developed. Copies of the report had hardly been made available in any significant number locally when a meeting of municipal officials was called by one of the municipalities for the purpose of organizing opposition to it. Sponsors of the meeting admitted that they had not read the report but felt that the title of the commission, which contained the word "metropolitan," was ample reason for opposing it.

The commission as such, by the terms of its legislative authorization and by the grant made for the research, cannot become the agency to sponsor legislation. Practically every member of the commission is anxious to do all within his power as a citizen to promote adoption of the recommendations. The commission expressed the hope that, if its report is to achieve constructive results, an interested citizens' group would be formed to make sure that the recommendations are implemented by necessary legislative and voter action. In order to avoid implication of pressure, no attempt has yet been made to organize such a movement. Those interested in the adoption of these recommendations are willing to sacrifice the short-term loss of time for the long-term gain of building up proper public sentiment. Most of the civic agencies of the community are now studying the report, and there are indications that they will lend their support to it.

DAVID H. KURTZMAN

Pennsylvania Economy League
Western Division

Mass. Governor's Conference Discusses Counties

The fourth Massachusetts Governor's Conference on state, county and municipal relations, held in Amherst June 21-22, heard a panel discussion on county gov-

ernment. Specific questions of home rule arose in the discussion, although members disagreed widely on the value of county government. (Massachusetts counties perform few functions and must receive annual approval by the General Court (legislature) of their respective budgets.) Widely divergent points of view were brought to the panel by managers, selectmen, county commissioners, mayors and state officials.

On the one hand, there was the view that county government, originally intended for rural populations, is now outmoded in such an urban state as Massachusetts and ought to be eliminated. On the other, there was the view that counties ought to be retained and consolidated and their governments redesigned. This latter proposal called for establishment of super counties to serve entire metropolitan areas, such counties to have the functions of planning, library services, fire protection and mass transportation.

A third view was advanced by the county government members of the panel who wished to liberate counties from the legislative hold on county budgets. They proposed that county assemblies be created with authority to adopt county budgets.

The conference finally passed a resolution to set up a committee to study county administration and planning for metropolitan areas and to propose some solution for the present unsatisfactory requirement of legislative approval of county budgets. The committee will report at the Fifth Governor's Conference in Boston in the fall.

VICTORIA SCHUCK

Mount Holyoke College

Medico-legal System Advances

Medical examiners have been authorized in Texas as the result of a lively effort by the Texas Society of Pathologists under the leadership of Mr. Baker, a Houston attorney and member of the legislature.

Chapter 159, relating only to counties of 250,000 or more, is amended by H. B. 539, approved May 6, 1955.

It provides that the commissioners' court of any county over 250,000 population may appoint a medical examiner who shall be a licensed physician, trained and experienced in pathology, toxicology, histology and other medico-legal sciences and equip him with laboratory facilities and vest in him the investigation into causes of unattended deaths. The medical examiner will replace justices of the peace who now have that function throughout Texas.

The counties affected by this law are Bexar (San Antonio), Harris (Houston), Dallas and Tarrant (Fort Worth).

A committee of the Dade County (Florida) Health Council, composed of representatives of the district attorney, state attorney, sheriff, Dade County Health Department, etc., has secured passage of a law empowering Dade County supervisors to provide a medical examiner for Dade County alone. A salary of \$17,500 to \$25,000 per year is specified and a list of additional personnel and appropriation as the board of county commissioners may from time to time provide. Elective county coroners being embedded in the constitution, it was necessary to leave that office in existence and assign the medico-legal work to the new medical examiner.

The Medico-legal Committee of the Missouri Bar and of the St. Louis Bar Association secured introduction of House Bill 339 in the Missouri legislature. It would have abolished the elective county coroners and transferred their function to a central qualified system of state medico-legal examiners. The bill was given scant consideration by the legislature.

In Kansas, following failure of a legis-

lative bill which would have created a central system of post-mortem examinations, the legislature authorized and directed the Legislative Council to investigate the coroner situation and report to the 1957 biennial session with its recommendations.

A carefully prepared bill for modernizing the coroner system of Wisconsin counties outside of Milwaukee was delayed for consideration until the closing days of the legislative session and then "shouted down by an overwhelming voice vote" in June.

In Iowa a bill for establishing a centralized medical examiner system in place of locally elective county coroners, prepared by the Iowa State Medical Society, with support from the State Bar Association and the Polk County Medical Society, failed to secure serious consideration in the legislature.

An Assembly Interim Committee of the California legislature published in March a report entitled *Coroners*, covering a highly competent investigation of coroner service in the state as compared with the best medical examiner systems.

The findings relate that California coroners certified 24 per cent of total deaths and, of those, arranged autopsies on 56 per cent (1953). Both percentages are high. Nine principal population centers provide adequate pathological services covering 9,000,000 of the state's 12,450,000 population. Inquests are used somewhat but adjudged unnecessary.

Qualifications should be established for coroners and "serious consideration should be given to making the office appointive."

County home rule, long established in California, has led to diverse arrangements and further improvement where needed lies within the power of county supervisors.

R.S.C.

Taxation and Finance*Edited by Wade S. Smith*

Intergovernmental Commission Reports

Fifteen Studies Deal with Areas in Field

THE federal Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, in existence for over two years, now has produced a report in the best tradition of its subject. Temperate in tone, the work itself represents numerous compromises between substantial differences of opinion and at the same time leaves room for the expression of individual opinions.

In the pragmatic solution of complex problems, the commission believes, "lies the true value of a greater emphasis on problems of intergovernmental relations. They are not isolated problems to be completely surveyed or solved at one point in time. They are part and parcel of evolving public policy, requiring continuous study."

In essence, then, the commission's report offers an approach rather than a final program, a frame of mind rather than a final solution. On the commission's program of specific recommendations there is a considerable range of disagreement, reflecting its diverse composition and evidenced by numerous dissenting footnotes.

The 311-page report¹ is well supplemented by the fifteen supporting publications released with it.² Eight of the fifteen are study committee reports, each dealing with intergovernmental relations in specific fields and covering agriculture, highways, public health, welfare, edu-

cation, employment security and natural resources. The eighth of the reports is a valuable contribution on the subject of payments in lieu of taxes.

There are three staff reports, one on civil defense, one on aid to airports and one describing 25 federal grant-in-aid programs. Two survey reports will be of considerable interest, both as to methodology and subject matter. They deal with the impact of federal grants on 32 states individually and were prepared by various authorities and by private consulting organizations. Rounding out the fifteen documents are a *Subcommittee Report on Natural Disaster Relief* and an *Advisory Committee Report on Local Government*. The commission's report and its supporting publications constitute a total of 2,099 numbered pages, a bulky challenge to the conscientious student.

The report of the commission is divided into two parts, Part I tracing the evolution and outlining the nature of our federal system and Part II dealing with specific intergovernmental functional responsibilities and programs. In Part I the commission states its faith in the intrinsic value of federalism and the philosophy expressed here dominates the entire report. It points to our traditional belief in the distribution of authority among relatively independent governing bodies and traces the effect of crises in the past two decades on this belief. The federal system is shown to be flexible enough to adjust when the nation is threatened by internal or external danger, and at such times the national government becomes dominant. Continued reliance on the national government, however, presents certain dangers.³

The commission does not distinguish between the aggressiveness of the national government and the apathy of state and

¹A Report to the President for Transmittal to the Congress. By the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations. Washington, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1955.

²For list of reports see the REVIEW, July 1955, page 387.

³See "A Profession of Faith," editorial, page 396, this issue.

local governments as primary, but rather it continually urges restraint on the part of the national government and increased aggressiveness on the part of state and local governments in the performance of their proper functions. Federalism can be lost by the lack of state and local initiative as well as by overuse of national authority. As examples of the former the commission points out that states have seriously restricted themselves in their powers of taxation and have passed on these limitations to their local governments.

Included in Part II of its report are twelve chapters in which the commission takes cognizance of specific functions in which intergovernmental relations are important. Here are to be found its recommendations on welfare, public health and generally those areas covered by the reports of the study groups. The general views expressed in Part I serve as its guide, but the commission does not take a doctrinaire approach on the individual programs. It generally avoids the rigid view that the national government should abandon its domestic programs forthwith to the states.

Civil Defense

As an example, its thoughtful analysis of the civil defense program calls attention to laxity on the part of the national government. The commission recommends that Congress amend the federal civil defense act to reallocate responsibility for civil defense from a primary state and local responsibility to a responsibility of the national government, with states and localities retaining an important supporting role. The commission feels that the national government should be responsible for over-all planning and direction of the civil defense effort and that it should liberalize its financial participation in the cost of the program.

In addition to its recommendations on grants and specific functions in Part II, the commission repeats a recommendation common to studies of this subject: that a

federal agency be established to scrutinize intergovernmental relations continuously. The commission would establish a "modest" coordinating agency, a special assistant in the Executive Office of the President, to serve as the President's aide and adviser on state and local relationships. An advisory board would be appointed by the President, interlevel coordinating machinery would be established for specific functions, and the Bureau of the Budget and other agencies would intensify their concern over maintaining coordinate programs based on cooperation. Six of the 25 commission members thought, however, that a more formal permanent agency should be established to perform these important functions.

Metropolitan Areas

The report recognizes the importance of the problems of coordinating government and public finance in metropolitan areas, and this represents considerable progress in the field. The commission relies rather heavily on recommendations for future study in this area, however, and not as much new material has been produced as might be expected.

In a voluminous study of this kind a certain amount of undigested material is to be expected and these reports are not an exception. The commission, for example, takes a position in opposition to "unconditional subsidies" or unspecified purpose grants. It states that national authorities would have inadequate control over the use of appropriated funds and that such grants would undermine the sense of financial responsibility of the states. Why these events follow is not explained, and the commission's preference stands opposed to the report of its Advisory Committee on Local Government. The committee favored general purpose or block grants on the grounds that they produce less distortion of public services than specific purpose grants, they encourage better local budgeting and their administration would enable the na-

tional government to reduce the number of supervisory personnel in the grant program. The reader may reasonably expect some documentation to support these rather broad commission and committee conclusions; and in any event he may expect some reconciliation or reasoned analysis of these conflicting generalities.

This study and its supplements make a substantial contribution to our understanding of a complex subject, however, and they will deserve intensive study for some time to come. It is to be hoped that the commission makes its major point, that federalism is a dynamic, vital and flexible part of our heritage of individualism and deserves our understanding and efforts to maintain its vigor.

JACKSON R. E. PHILLIPS

Dun & Bradstreet, Inc.
New York, N. Y.

Georgia Studies Economies As Aftermath of Tax Rises

On June 24, 1955, the General Assembly of Georgia passed a resolution authorizing appointment of a joint committee of the House of Representatives and the Senate to study ways and means of effecting economies in the state government. The committee, five members of the House and three members of the Senate, held its organization meeting on July 6. It is authorized, with no designated limitation on its funds, to employ counsel and other help.

Every official and employee of the state is called upon to cooperate with the committee by making available records and

other pertinent information. One of the first actions of the committee has been to request an organizational chart from each department. This promises to be the most general study of the administrative organization of the state's government since that which resulted in the reorganization under Governor Richard B. Russell in 1931.

Previously the General Assembly had met in special session, June 6-18, 1955, upon the call of Governor Griffin. The principal objective of the call session was to raise additional money to finance expanded state services, particularly in the field of education. Despite the fact that the income of the state increased in the last fiscal year, it was necessary to spend \$4,000,000 from the reserve fund. Governor Griffin asked for new taxes to bring in an additional \$65,000,000. The new taxes voted by the General Assembly were estimated to bring in about two-thirds of that amount. Increases included: cigarettes from three cents to five cents per package, gasoline from six cents to six and one-half cents per gallon, beer from two cents to four cents per can, automobile tags from \$3.50 to \$7.50 for average weight cars. In the field of income taxes, personal exemptions were increased but the federal income tax was disallowed as a deduction. An annual driver's license fee of one dollar replaced the permanent license. Transient trucks will be required to pay the Georgia gas tax on fuel burned in Georgia.

ALBERT B. SAYE

University of Georgia

Proportional Representation*Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.
and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

**Israel Holds
P. R. Elections****National Parliament and
Municipal Bodies Chosen**

ISRAEL elected its third Knesset (national parliament) on July 26. A list system of P.R. was used in this election and also in municipal elections held concurrently.

In the national elections the polling of the whole country as a single unit electing 120 members at large instead of the

usual plan of election by multi-member districts once again facilitated the representation of very small parties. Mapai continued as the only large party, but although it polled almost 20,000 more votes than at the 1951 elections its growth did not match the 25 per cent increase in the total poll. Mapai obtained but 31.3 per cent of the 876,000 votes cast and won one-third of the 120 places in the Knesset.

There was considerable change in the line-up of minor parties, which is expected to give the Mapai leaders considerable work in arranging a governing

ISRAELI NATIONAL ELECTION JULY 26, 1955

Party	Votes Cast	Percentage of Votes	Seats Won	Percentage of Seats
Mapai	274,735	31.3	40	33.3
Herut	107,190	12.2	15	12.5
General Zionist	87,099	9.9	13	10.8
Mizrahi	77,936	8.9	11	9.2
Ahdut Ha'avoda	69,475	7.9	10	8.3
Mapam	62,401	7.1	9	7.5
Agudath Israel	39,836	4.5	6	5.0
Communist	38,492	4.4	6	5.0
Progressive	37,661	4.3	5	4.2
Arab pro-Mapai parties:				
Arab Democrat	15,475	1.8	2	1.7
Progress and Labor	12,511	1.4	2	1.7
Agriculture and Development	9,791	1.1	1	0.8
Sepharadim	6,994	0.8	—	—
Others	37,489	4.3	—	—
	877,085		120	

JERUSALEM MUNICIPAL ELECTION, JULY 26, 1955

Mapai	17,111	29.0	6	28.6
Herut	11,288	19.1	4	19.0
Agudath Israel	9,460	16.0	3	14.3
Mizrahi	7,770	13.1	3	14.3
Progressive	6,506	11.0	2	9.5
General Zionist	3,120	5.3	1	4.8
Ahdut Ha'avoda	2,537	4.3	1	4.8
Wizo	1,255	2.1	1	4.8
	59,047			

coalition. The General Zionists, who in 1951 were the second largest party with 16.1 per cent of the vote, dropped to a mere 9.9 per cent of the vote and lost seven seats. On the other hand, the Herut rose from 6.6 per cent to 12.2 per cent in popular vote and gained seven seats. Mapam, the third largest party in 1951, split several ways during the term of the Second Knesset and at the recent election two parties formed from the original Mapam each polled almost as many votes as Mapam obtained in 1951. Neither obtained as many votes as the Mizrahi, which made a slight gain to obtain 8.9 per cent of the votes and eleven seats in the Knesset.

The smallest parties remained about the same. The Communists made some gain and obtained six seats, whereas they had previously held five. The Sepharadim and Yemenite parties obtained no representation. In the previous Knesset elected representatives of both these small groups joined the General Zionists. In the present election there was no Yemenite ticket, but about 7,000 votes were cast for Sepharadim candidates.

In the Jerusalem municipal elections eight parties succeeded in getting council positions. In this case Mapai increased its representation from five to six seats. Herut gained two seats and the General Zionists lost three.

The results of these elections are summarized in the tables on page 434, based on information furnished by the Israel Office of Information.

1955 British Election Analyzed

The Conservative party and its allies won 49.8 per cent of the popular vote and 54.8 per cent of the seats in the House of Commons in last spring's British Parliamentary election.¹ This relatively slight departure from proportionality in a single-member-district-plurality type election hides the imperfections of the resulting representation. The fact that in 37 of the 630 constituencies the winning candidate had less than a majority of the votes cast indicates that a large proportion of the country is not represented by a candidate of its choice. Altogether two-fifths of the voters cast votes for candidates who were defeated.

So far as the relative strength of the Conservative and Labor parties in Parliament is concerned, P.R. would probably have yielded a similar division of strength, but the difference would have been that practically every Conservative voter would have helped to elect a Conservative member who would be truly his representative, and practically every Labor voter would likewise have helped to elect a Labor member of Parliament.

The Liberal party suffered particularly from the electoral system, obtaining less than 1 per cent of the seats (six out of 630) with 2.7 per cent of the votes. The party of the great Gladstone tradition, seeking a course midway between the

¹This note is based on information from the British Proportional Representation Society, London.

BRITISH GENERAL ELECTION 1955

Party	Votes Cast	Percentage of Votes	Seats Won	Percentage of Seats
Conservative and Allies	13,311,938	49.8	345	54.8
Labor	12,405,146	46.3	277	43.9
Liberal	722,395	2.7	6	0.9
Sinn Fein	152,310	0.6	2	0.4
Others	168,872	0.6	0	0
	26,760,661		630	

Conservative policy and the socialist policy of the Labor party, is reputed to have a following much greater than the vote cast for its few candidates at this election. Because under the electoral system persons of Liberal party sympathy feared that a vote for any but a Conservative or Labor candidate in most constituencies would result in a vote being wasted, Liberal candidates were entered in the election in relatively few constituencies and even in those races may not have obtained the votes of all persons of Liberal persuasion.

Some 83 per cent of the eligible voters participated in the election, an increase in interest over 1951 when 85 per cent cast ballots.

The election results as furnished by the P. R. Society are tabulated in the accompanying table. Every seat was contested, although the speaker had only a minor party (Labor Independent) opponent.

P. R. League Meets in Seattle

On July 26 a small group of leaders in the proportional representation field from nine states met at breakfast in the Edmond Meany Hotel, Seattle, to conduct the formal business of the annual meeting of the Proportional Representation League, Inc., and to discuss informally the present status and outlook of P. R. in the United States. The meeting was scheduled to coincide with the annual Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, with whose work the activities of the P. R. League have been consolidated since 1932.

Richard S. Childs, New York, trustee of the P. R. League and former president, presided. Reelected as trustees of the League were Mr. Childs, Robert P. Goldman of Cincinnati, C. G. Hoag of Haverford, Pennsylvania, Andrew B. Holmstrom of Worcester, Massachusetts, Oxie

Reichler of Yonkers, New York, Thomas H. Reed of Wethersfield, Connecticut, and Thomas Raeburn White of Philadelphia.

The meeting also recommended to the trustees the re-election of Mr. Goldman as president, Mr. White as vice president, Mr. Hoag as honorary secretary, George H. Hallett, Jr., of New York as executive secretary, and Elsie S. Parker of the National Municipal League staff, New York, as assistant secretary and treasurer.

The meeting took note of the development of a strong home rule movement in Massachusetts, which may remove the present legislative roadblock against new adoptions of P. R. in that state, and of a gradual re-awakening of interest in P. R. in several parts of the country, including the northwest.

The group discussed in this connection the current professional development of an educational motion picture on P. R. under the League's auspices, which it is hoped will be completed in time for use in the cities having P. R. elections this year and for distribution throughout the country during the coming year.

P. R. was featured in two of the regular sessions of the National Municipal League conference. The morning panel session on local election systems, "The People's Choice," was presided over by Francis A. Harrington, former president of the Worcester (Massachusetts) Plan E Association, and participated in by Mrs. Albert D. Cash, former Cincinnati councilman elected by P. R., and Mr. Hallett, executive secretary of the New York Citizens Union as well as P. R. League executive secretary. Mr. Hallett was also on the panel on legislative apportionment, "How Much Does Your Vote Weigh?", where he outlined a plan for automatic reapportionment to multi-member districts with P. R. giving representation in each district to both major parties and to nearly every voter. P. R. also came up for discussion spontaneously in the session on "Civic Victories and Defeats," where citizen organizations traded experiences.

Citizen Action Edited by Elsie S. Parker

Citizens Secure Park Legislation

Minneapolis Group Meets with Qualified Success

OVER two years ago Lloyd Hale, a director of the Citizens League of Minneapolis and Hennepin County, called League Executive Director Ray Black and said, "I think the league ought to work for a metropolitan park system." On April 22, 1955, Black called Hale and said, "We made it." The Minnesota legislature had passed Senate File 957, "A Bill for an Act Creating and Permitting Boards of County Commissioners to Activate Single and Multi-county Park Districts."

Much of S. F. 957 was shot away between its introduction on March 2, 1955, and its final passage. Even as passed, however, it was a major achievement. The Twin Cities area (or at least a part of it) now has the means whereby some large tracts of land in the metropolitan area can be set aside for eventual development as parks.

No suggester of a good idea escapes the opportunity to prove his belief, and Hale was duly appointed chairman of the Citizens League's Metropolitan Parks Committee. The idea wasn't his alone, of course, and he brought to his committee many able recruits.

A well documented first report was issued, verifying the need for more parks in Hennepin County. It stated: "The need will not be met by the state park system or the cities and villages. Legislation is needed."

A 1911 Ohio law was plagiarized for the first draft. It went through countless revisions. By December 1954, other officials and citizens had joined the commit-

tee. An attorney, long known for his interest and effort in the field of conservation, became chairman.

Three civic leaders from St. Paul showed interest in the idea for Ramsey County, so the St. Paul Chamber of Commerce appointed a committee. Finally, the bill became statewide in application.

Now to get support. Three targets were picked—the legislature, local officials and the general public. The response from the latter two was most gratifying. But how about the legislature?

"Get the bill introduced as fast as you can," was the committee's terse command at its February meeting. Good advice it was, with the 90-day legislative session already one-third gone.

A leading senator introduced our bill and it became S. F. 957, while three representatives introduced the companion bill—House File 1240.

Despite short notice, practically the whole committee went to St. Paul for the Senate hearing. Some senators made it clear that their districts were so full of parks they abhorred the thought of any more. This started an excising trend which might have ruined us if the 90 days hadn't ended.

By amendment the bill was cut back to the Twin Cities metropolitan area. Then a Minneapolis senator said that Minneapolis better pay its share from existing tax resources or S. F. 957 might get in his hair. So we sadly compromised our meager financing plan and thereby got the bill out of committee, without recommendation.

We hoped to recoup our losses in the House where the committee approved the bill unanimously as we wanted it with the recommendation that it pass.

By now it was April 1955 and our locations far down on General Orders in

both houses didn't give us cause to cheer.

On April 11 our Senate sponsor served notice he would move on the 13th for a special order. This appeared to be the test. Four of our own Hennepin County senators were doubtful. Ramsey County (St. Paul) wanted out or would oppose. Dakota County couldn't decide whether to be in or out. It was a tense moment when the motion for special order was made. Was this the end of the trail for this session?

But no one opposed and we had our special order. Were the senators really with us, though, or just waiting in ambush?

One hour before the scheduled vote on Thursday, a senator said he would have to oppose the bill until he had more time to study it, so the vote was moved over to Thursday afternoon, then to Friday and finally to Monday. More amendments were drawn.

Monday morning came and our Senator thought it could be delayed no longer in the Senate for no action was being taken in the House until the Senate acted.

Another tense moment. The amendments were offered, approved. The bill as amended was put to a vote. Fifty-three green lights made it unanimous.

Back in the House, notice of motions for special order were served but the motions weren't put. H. F. 1240 was knocked off the Non-controversial Calendar twice, and apparently properly so, judging from the controversy raging over it. Despite our best attempts to explain the bill at delegation meetings it was confused with a regional planning bill and with many false notions of what it would do. Four fires broke out for every one that was squelched.

"Minneapolis should not pay part of the cost of another park system even if its people would be the principal users," we were told.

Is something better than nothing, even if your metropolitan area has Ramsey

County (St. Paul) and Minneapolis out of it? We concluded it was. It is a start, a small vehicle to show what can be accomplished.

More amendments were drawn. By this time the Non-controversial Calendar had been completed with S. F. 957 laid over. Would the House go back to it? The floor leader said yes, so at 2:20 P.M. on the 90th day amendments were offered and adopted, and the speaker called for the vote.

Eighty-three green lights told us that the House had approved the "something."

At 10:25 P.M. on the 90th day, the Senate concurred in the amended bill.

The governor had supported the bill all along. On April 26 he signed it into law as Chapter 806, Laws of Minnesota 1955.

RAYMOND D. BLACK,
Executive Director

Citizens League of
Greater Minneapolis

Amherst-Mount Holyoke Workshop in Politics

Amherst and Mount Holyoke colleges, under a grant from the Maurice and Laura Falk Foundation, have inaugurated a workshop in politics this summer. The purpose of the workshop is to allow students to study the politics and government of their own communities. The eight students taking the course—they are permitted three hours of college credit—are spending ten weeks studying party organization and political leadership; political, social and economic issues; and forms of local government. They will present their findings in the form of lengthy, analytical papers.

A feature of the workshop is the traveling instructor who is a member of the political science departments of Amherst and Mount Holyoke and who is visiting each student twice during the summer. Another feature is the midsummer conference of students and faculty in New

York. The group this year met at the National Municipal League offices with Wesleyan students and faculty engaged in a similar course. The day-long conference August 5 afforded opportunity for discussion of problems connected with the students' investigations and for consultation with members of the staff of the National Municipal League.

The summer workshop course is one of three given by the two colleges as part of the program of the Amherst-Mount Holyoke Political Studies Center established under the Falk grant.

VICTORIA SCHUCK
Mount Holyoke College

In Union There Is Strength

"How Far Does Your Influence Reach?" headlines the Philadelphia Committee of Seventy in *Civic Affairs*. "You say not as far as President Eisenhower. How about Mayor Clark? Maybe you can only reach as far as your party committeeman over in the next block.

"Do you consider yourself just one among a million other citizens often referred to as the voiceless majority, one whose influence doesn't go any further than to a few friends? If you are in this category, it's your own fault.

"Many times you have been unhappy about the leadership in your political party, the ever-increasing burden of taxation or the rise in crime. You may have tried to reach the person whom you felt had something to do with this. If you did, you sounded off, but nothing happened. So you decided there wasn't anything you could do about it. You just went on paying your taxes and voting occasionally.

"There's one thing we have learned from our long political experience. An individual should *never try to go it alone*. He generally gets a run-around. But let the same person become part of a re-

Automatic Phone Tells Manager Story

The committee in charge of promoting adoption of the council-manager plan in Bridgeport, Connecticut, recently came up with a new device for securing attention.

It rented an automatic telephone answering machine with a one-minute record on council-manager government and told the citizens through the newspapers that if they would call Edison 5-3141 they would hear a one-minute talk on the subject.

As many as 1,000 calls a day were received and the service was maintained for a week.

sponsible group, and he will have no trouble reaching the right people or helping to influence them."

Connecticut Citizens Discuss Constitution

Civic leaders from all over Connecticut met June 27, at Hartford, to map plans for a continuing, long-range campaign for a constitutional convention, reports Mark S. Matthews, chairman of the Citizens for a Constitutional Convention.

The citizens organization was formed prior to the 1955 session of the General Assembly to coordinate the efforts of groups working in behalf of bills calling for a referendum on whether Connecticut should have a constitutional convention.

Featured at the meeting was a talk by Charlton F. Chute, assistant director of the Institute of Public Administration, who, some years ago, as director of the Government Research Institute of St. Louis, initiated a citizens movement that

resulted in a state convention and a new constitution for Missouri.

Interest in government reform in Connecticut has spread throughout the state because of the confusion that prevailed during the closing hours of the 1955 session, reported Mr. Matthews, a member of the Council of the National Municipal League. Serious malfunctioning of the legislative process such as the people of Connecticut have witnessed calls for a thorough reconsideration of important constitutional provisions that are at the root of the trouble.

Members of the executive committee of the Citizens for a Connecticut Constitutional Convention include: Mark S. Matthews, chairman, of Greenwich; Paul C. Daniels, vice chairman, Lakeville; Jay E. Rubinow, secretary, Manchester; John R. Larus, treasurer, West Hartford; and Mrs. William E. Mills, Jr., executive secretary, Stamford. Also Mrs. John D. Briscoe, Lakeville; Maurice R. Cronan, Wethersfield; Merle W. DeWees, Orange; Mr. James M. Osborn, New Haven; Professor Henry A. Lepper, Jr., Hamden; Professor James Fesler, Hamden; Carlton Hill, New Canaan; Adrian von Schmid, Kent; and Moses Savin, New London.

Michigan Forum Holds Sessions

The Tenth Annual Michigan Forum on State and Local Government was conducted at Michigan State University from June 23 through July 28.

Over 30 state and local government officials, including Governor G. Mennen Williams and Lieutenant Governor Philip A. Hart, participated in panels and workshops.

This forum was a continuation of a program conceived and promoted by D.

Hale Brake, chairman of the Michigan Institute of Local Government. The forum is sponsored to enable practitioners of government to work with teachers and their students to provide familiarity with facts as well as theories about Michigan government operations.

The program included panel sessions and workshops on the following topics: Executive leadership, legislative process, judicial process, local government and intergovernmental relations, state and local finances, political party-interest group process, progress in Michigan.

This year's program is sponsored by the Michigan Institute of Local Government and the Michigan State University's Department of Political Science, in cooperation with the Michigan Department of Public Instruction, Michigan Municipal League and Michigan Citizenship Clearing House.

Dr. Nathan Hakman, MSU Political Science Department, was chairman and coordinator of the 1955 program.

With the LWV

The League of Women Voters of Anchorage, Alaska, reports it will study the *Model State Constitution* of the National Municipal League so as to be prepared "to vote wisely when we are asked to accept or reject the constitution which Alaska's constitutional convention will prepare in November." The LWV plans to conduct a series of six study meetings on different phases of the constitution.

According to *PAR News Analysis*, issued by the Public Affairs Research Council of Louisiana, the League of Women Voters of Louisiana has selected reduction in the residence requirement for voting as a legislative goal for the 1956 regular session. The league will propose reducing the state residence requirement from two years to one.

Books in Review

Reapportionment

RURAL VERSUS URBAN POLITICAL POWER. By Gordon E. Baker. New York, Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1955. viii, 70 pp. 95 cents.

The over-representation of rural populations in the legislatures from coast to coast is notorious.

Statistics made up by the American Municipal Association demonstrate that in round numbers the rural third of our population controls two-thirds of the legislative memberships. In some states the disparity is extreme and reapportionments due under the state constitution have been staved off by the beneficiaries of the *status quo* for as long as five decades with no relief in the courts.

Such statistics have hitherto rested on the mere fact that this is unfair and results in making second-class citizens out of urban dwellers by reason of their under-representation at their respective state capitols.

Now comes this admirable study of the secondary damage which follows that unbalance. A ghastly list, including similar though less radical unbalance in Congress through unfair apportionment of congressional districts by legislatures; unbalanced representation in the structure of the parties and presidential convention delegations and distortion of the relative effectiveness of competing political parties; vested privileges in county government protecting the county machines which are usually the building blocks of state party machines; inequalities of taxation and appropriations with city residents paying far more than their share and recovering far less than their share of state services; general backwardness in legislation and unawareness in legislatures of acute urban problems and rights. All together a splendid roundup of consequences of malapportionment and the mischiefs that follow!

Under the discussion of the problem of change, Professor Baker quotes the use-

fulness of the constitutional initiative in some of the thirteen states which have that resource, leading to indication of the need for getting reapportionments out of the hands of the state legislatures, whose self-interest so commonly blocks adjustment.

R.S.C.

VOTING IN DEMOCRACIES. By Enid Lakeman and James D. Lambert. London, Faber and Faber, 1955. xi, 303 pp. 25 shillings net.

This is a comprehensive text on the theory and practice of electoral systems. The appendices alone comprise a handy manual for the specialist concerned with accurate data on the application of the various voting systems in current use. In addition, the text provides politically-minded readers with plenty of food for reflection on the causes and possible remedies for the chronic frustration of party-minded citizens.

The authors have an issue and are honest in their presentation of it. Miss Lakeman, research secretary of the Proportional Representation Society of Great Britain, makes no bones about her conviction that the British electoral system is woefully deficient and that the single transferable vote with its proportional representation result is the much-to-be-desired solution. Mr. Lambert, described as an authority on the political structure of European states (the manifold statistics underscore the description), obviously concurs.

The issue is well buttressed. The authors begin with the thesis that the "best" electoral system should produce:

- (a) A legislature mirroring principal trends of voter opinion;
- (b) Administration founded on a clear-cut vote majority;
- (c) Elected representatives best fitted for their responsibilities; and

(d) A government that is strong and stable.

By these standards the principal electoral systems in use among democratic countries are judged. That most of them are found wanting will come as no surprise to readers of the REVIEW. Americans may wish that more specific attention had been given to our own peculiar variations of the basic electoral devices but the case for and against American electoral reform is implicit enough.

On the other hand, those political scientists who in recent years have been bemused by stress on the importance of securing "strong" government, at no-matter-what-the-cost in democratic principle, are not likely to be persuaded by the authors' evidence that the single transferable vote offers as much of a guarantee of strength as free-wheeling democracy can afford.

The book is dedicated to the memory of the late John H. Humphreys, the great-hearted and indefatigable genius of the P. R. Society. It is a fitting testimonial.

FOREST FRANK
Cincinnati Charter Committee

Simplifying Court System

A PROPOSED SIMPLIFIED STATEWIDE COURT SYSTEM. Report of the Subcommittee on Modernization and Simplification of the Court Structure to the Temporary Commission on the Courts of the State of New York. New York 7, The Commission, June 1955. 107 pp.

Inspired no doubt by the streamlining of the antique array of New Jersey courts under the leadership of Arthur T. Vanderbilt, the Tweed Commission has submitted its third report dealing with New York state courts looking toward sweeping simplification of an ancient complex of piecemeal accretions.

This proposal renames the Court of Appeals the Supreme Court of Appeals, changes the name of the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court to Appellate

Court, renames the Supreme Court (which has never been supreme) the Superior Court, and blends into it the present Court of Claims, City Court of New York, county courts and the corresponding court of General Sessions of New York County, Surrogate's Courts, Children's Courts and the Domestic Relations Court of New York City. Below that it provides district courts engulfing a number of minor courts across the state.

Twenty-one types of courts are thus brought down to five and the autonomy of many of them is to be wiped out, with a great simplification of administration and reduction of fiscal confusion.

A Roper poll conducted by the New York State Bar Association a week after the November 1954 statewide election disclosed that the elective system for judges is a complete failure inasmuch as 95 per cent of the voters merely follow partisan labels without exerting discrimination or knowing anything about the qualifications of judicial candidates or even knowing the names of the judges they had so recently voted for.

In New York City it is notorious that the judges are hand-picked by party leaders including trades between two parties to provide double endorsements on most of the candidates for reelection. A long list of judges comes up for election every year in New York City's immense system although about one-third are appointed by the mayor.

In view of the realities, it is a shock to find that, in the interest of symmetry apparently, the commission ignores the universal complaint about the system in the metropolis and proposes to transfer to the elective list from the mayor's appointment 24 judges of the Court of Special Sessions and perhaps 23 more in the Domestic Relations Court!

If, while ignoring the problem of methods of selection, the commission is successful in securing sweeping simplification, it will seem hardly possible for many years to bring up questions looking toward

adoption of the so-called "Missouri Plan" or extension of the appointive system.

R.S.C.

Civil Liberties

COMMUNISM, CONFORMITY AND CIVIL LIBERTIES. A Cross Section of the Nation Speaks Its Mind. By Samuel A. Stouffer. Garden City, New York, Doubleday & Company, 1955. 278 pp. \$4.00.

This is a study authorized by the Fund for the Republic. Professor Stouffer of Harvard has undertaken an intensive attitude survey of the American mind on the subject of communism and civil liberties. It is a revealing report about the climate of American opinion today.

It must be read carefully to be appreciated. While it notes starkly a disregard of civil rights in many minds, its final conclusions, based on extensive sampling and statistical analysis, indicate that great forces are operating slowly in this country on the side of spreading tolerance. Thus its basic conclusions are cautiously optimistic.

Of real interest are the findings that responsible community leaders are more likely than the rank and file to give sober second thought to the civil rights of non-conformists. Let us quote the author: "Plans of public education which aim at building more respect for the American tradition should be able to count on strong support from influential civic leadership at the grass roots."

W.F.L.

Constitutional Revision

PROJET OF A CONSTITUTION FOR THE STATE OF LOUISIANA, with Notes and Studies. (Five volumes.) Baton Rouge, Secretary of State of Louisiana, 1955. 4,270 pages. Paperbound, \$51.50; cloth-bound, \$62.50.

This *Projet* was prepared as a result of a 1946 request of the Louisiana legislature to the Louisiana State Law Institute to prepare a draft of a new constitu-

tion for the state with accompanying notes and studies. The draft of a constitution was published in 1950 but, because no funds were available at the time, the studies were not published.

In September 1953 funds became available and a year was spent in reorganizing and bringing the research materials up to date. An attempt was made to take all the constitutional studies done elsewhere and use them where they were related to a Louisiana problem. In view of the length of Louisiana's present constitution, most of them were of some pertinence. There is a great deal that would be of value to other states in connection with constitutional revision or in certain basic problems that in other states are not constitutional in nature.

There are 4,270 pages in all, 175 tables many of them on interstate comparisons, a 62-page bibliography on constitutional revision, a 308-page index, about 30 special studies on constitutional problems that might be of interest in other states, a history of the development of the ten Louisiana constitutions, and a proposal for the organization of a constitutional convention.

All the research was geared to its usefulness in Louisiana, but much of it would be helpful elsewhere. It might also be of interest because of the manner in which the research material is organized. The first volume does contain the history of Louisiana constitutions and the special studies, but most of the research material has been arranged in terms of the provisions of the Law Institute's draft so as to make it of maximum use to a convention. For each section of the draft there are given the corresponding provisions of the present constitution, a summary of the change, the reason why the Institute made the change, and frequently there are bibliographical notes, comparisons with other states, cross references, and alternative provisions.

KIRKBRIDGE OWEN
Louisiana State University

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Accounting

THE FORM OF PUBLISHED ACCOUNTS OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES. Westminster, S.W.1 London, The Institute of Municipal Treasurers and Accountants, 1955. x, 175 pp. 42s.

Budgeting

PROGRAM BUDGETING. A Method for Improving Fiscal Management. By Eugene R. Elkins. Morgantown, West Virginia University, Bureau for Government Research, 1955. v, 38 pp.

Building Authority

A STATE BUILDING AUTHORITY: SOLUTION TO CONSTRUCTION NEEDS? (Reprinted from *Current Economic Comment*, February 1955.) By Gilbert Y. Steiner. Urbana, University of Illinois, The Institute of Government and Public Affairs, 1955. 9 pp.

Civil Defense

CIVIL DEFENSE FACTS. A Speakers Kit. Battle Creek (Michigan), Federal Civil Defense Administration, 1955. Variously paged.

Civil Service

ADMINISTRATIVE CONTROL OF SICK LEAVE. By Raymond Krah. Chicago, Civil Service Assembly, 1954. 24 pp. \$2.00; Ten or more copies \$1.00.

CHARTER PROVISIONS FOR PERSONNEL ADMINISTRATION IN MICHIGAN CITIES. By Henry Spiegelblatt. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, Institute of Public Administration, Bureau of Government, 1955. 82 pp.

FRINGE BENEFITS FOR SALARIED EMPLOYEES IN GOVERNMENT AND INDUSTRY. By Edith B. Kidney. Chicago, Civil Service Assembly, 1954. 34 pp. \$2.00. Ten or more copies \$1.00.

NEXT STEPS IN ILLINOIS PERSONNEL ADMINISTRATION. Edited by Samuel K. Gove and Thomas Page. Urbana, University of Illinois, Institute of Govern-

ment and Public Affairs, 1955. x, 319 pp. \$1.00.

PROCEDURES THAT IMPROVE PERSONNEL ADMINISTRATION. Chicago, Civil Service Assembly, 1955. 35 pp. \$2.00. Ten or more copies \$1.00.

SELECTING SUPERVISORS FOR THE PUBLIC SERVICE. By John M. Pfiffner, Joseph W. Hawthorne and Harold Fields. Chicago, Civil Service Assembly, 1955. 25 pp. \$2.00. Ten or more copies \$1.00.

Consolidation

A REPORT ON THE PROPOSED EAU CLAIRE CONSOLIDATION. Columbia, South Carolina, City Planning Commission, 1955. 87 pp.

Constitutions

THE FLORIDA CONSTITUTION OF 1885 — A CRITIQUE. By Manning J. Dauer and William C. Havard. Gainesville, University of Florida, Public Administration Clearing Service, 1955. 92 pp.

County Government

IT'S OUR DALLAS COUNTY. The Story of Self-Government Since 1846. By David S. Switzer. Dallas, D. S. Switzer Educational Writings, 1954. 96 pp. \$2.00.

Courts

CRIMINAL PROCEDURES IN MUNICIPAL COURTS. Columbus, Ohio Legislative Service Commission, 1955. 56 pp.

Debt

PREPARING THE BOND PROSPECTUS. A Discussion of Some of the Major Features That Comprise a Satisfactory and Successful Bond Prospectus. Chicago, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, 1955. 4 pp. 50 cents.

Education

ILLINOIS SCHOOL PROBLEMS. Springfield, Illinois School Problems Commission No. 3, 1955. 93 pp.

REPORT OF THE OHIO SCHOOL SURVEY COMMITTEE TO THE GOVERNOR AND THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY. Columbus, the Committee, 1955. xvii, 221 pp.

THE STATE AND EDUCATION. The Structure and Control of Public Education at the State Level. By Fred F. Beach and Robert F. Will. Washington, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1955. viii, 175 pp. \$1.00.

Gambling Revenues

STATE RACING REVENUES AND THEIR DISTRIBUTION. By Edward L. Feder and Arthur J. Misner. Berkeley, University of California, Bureau of Public Administration, 1955. 23 pp. \$1.25.

Governor

A SUGGESTED PLAN FOR THE ORGANIZATION OF THE GOVERNOR'S OFFICE, COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA. By George M. Leader. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania Economy League, Inc., 1955. 12 pp.

Highway Finance

LOCAL GOVERNMENT'S SHARE OF STATE COLLECTED HIGHWAY FUNDS AND REVENUES — A 1955 RESURVEY. By John R. Kerstetter. Chicago, American Municipal Association, 1955. 56 pp. \$2.00.

Intergovernmental Relations

FEDERAL GRANT-IN-AID PROGRAMS IN PENNSYLVANIA 1941-1953. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, 1954. xi, 275 pp.

INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES. A Selected Bibliography on Interlevel and Interjurisdictional Relations. Washington, D. C., Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, 1955. iv, 207 pp.

Investment of Public Funds

INVESTMENT OF RETIREMENT AND OTHER FUNDS. Principles, Procedures and Other Considerations Relative to the Investment of Public Funds. Chicago, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, 1955. 12 pp. 75 cents.

Legal System

THE AMERICAN LEGAL SYSTEM. The Administration of Justice in the United

States by Judicial, Administrative, Military and Arbitral Tribunals. By Lewis Mayers. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1955. ix, 589 pp. \$6.50.

Legislation

SUMMARY OF 1955 LEGISLATION. General Assembly of North Carolina. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina, Institute of Government, 1955. xxii, 78 pp. \$2.00.

Local Government

SUMMARY OF GEORGIA LAWS AFFECTING LOCAL GOVERNMENT — JANUARY-FEBRUARY, 1955. Athens, University of Georgia, School of Law, Institute of Law and Government, 1955. vii, 46 pp. \$1.00.

Manuals

MANUAL FOR CLERKS OF BOARDS OF SUPERVISORS. Prepared by Committees of the Association of Clerks of Boards of Supervisors, New York State. Ithaca (New York), Cornell University, Graduate School of Business and Public Administration, 1955. 122 pp. \$7.50.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION MANUAL. 1955-56. Revised as of June 1, 1955. Washington, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, 1955. v, 768 pp. \$1.00.

Metropolitan Areas

SUBURBANIZATION OF MANUFACTURING ACTIVITY WITHIN STANDARD METROPOLITAN AREAS. By Evelyn M. Kitagawa and Donald J. Bogue. Oxford (Ohio), Miami University, Scripps Foundation for Research in Population Problems, and Chicago, University of Chicago, Population Research and Training Center, 1955. vi, 162 pp. \$1.80.

SUBURBANIZATION OF SERVICE INDUSTRIES WITHIN STANDARD METROPOLITAN AREAS. By Raymond P. Cuzzort. Oxford (Ohio), Miami University, Scripps Foundation for Research in Population Problems, and Chicago, University of Chicago, Population Research and Training Center, 1955. vi, 71 pp.

Municipal Auditorium

PLANNING A MUNICIPAL AUDITORIUM. By Ernest E. Means. Tallahassee, Florida State University, Bureau of Governmental Research and Service, 1955. 43 pp.

Municipal Repairs

MUNICIPAL REPAIR SHOP. St. Petersburg, City of St. Petersburg, Florida, 1955. 21 pp.

Police

THE MILWAUKEE POLICE DEPARTMENT. A Case Study in Police Organization. By Berton G. Braun. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, Institute of Public Administration, Bureau of Government, 1955. viii, 123 pp.

ONE-MAN OR TWO-MAN POLICE PATROL CARS. Detroit, Citizens Research Council of Michigan, 1955. 4 pp.

Public Administration

THE STUDY OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION. By Dwight Waldo. New York 22, Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1955. viii, 72 pp. 95 cents.

Public Employment

STATE DISTRIBUTION OF PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT IN 1954. Washington 25, D. C., Bureau of the Census, 1955. 28 pp. 20 cents.

Purchasing

50 YEARS OF PURCHASING — THE STORY OF N.A.P.A. Special Pictorial Supplement. New York, National Association of Purchasing Agents, 1955. 38 pp.

TAX SAVINGS FOR CONNECTICUT TOWNS AND CITIES THROUGH ORGANIZED PURCHASING. By Beldon H. Schaffer. Storrs, University of Connecticut, Institute of Public Service, 1955. 25 pp.

Special Assessments

LET'S TALK ABOUT PUBLIC IMPROVEMENTS FINANCED BY SPECIAL ASSESSMENTS. Answers to Your Questions on How to Obtain Public Improvements of a Local Benefit Nature. Kansas City (Missouri), Office of the City Manager, 1954. 46 pp.

Streets and Highways

CROWDED STREETS. A Symposium on Public Transportation. Washington 6, D. C., Urban Land Institute, 1955. 77 pp. \$4.00.

HOW TO GET THE MOST OUT OF OUR STREETS. Washington, D. C., Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Transportation and Communication Department, 1955. iv, 51 pp. \$1.00.

Surveys

TOWARD SOLVING THE PUZZLE. A Manual for the Appraisal of Community Resources and Social Services, Health, Welfare and Leisure-time. Boston, Massachusetts Community Organization Service, 1954. 88 pp. \$1.00.

Swimming Pools

OUTDOOR SWIMMING POOLS. Considerations in Planning, Basic Design Features, Pool Construction Factors. By George D. Butler. New York, National Recreation Association, 1955. 19 pp. 75 cents.

Taxation and Finance

AN EXAMINATION OF TAX BURDEN IN SOUTH DAKOTA. By Neal Sever. Vermillion, University of South Dakota, Governmental Research Bureau, 1955. vii, 71 pp.

FEDERAL TAX ISSUES IN 1955. By the Research and Policy Committee. New York 22, Committee for Economic Development, 1955. 24 pp.

FINANCING MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT IN DENVER. An Analysis of Tax and Other Receipts and Expenditures in the City and County of Denver, Colorado. Denver, Office of the Mayor, 1955. vii, 179 pp. \$1.50.

SUMMARY OF CITY GOVERNMENT FINANCES IN 1954. Washington, D. C., Bureau of Census, 1955. 19 pp. 15 cents.

Toll Roads

THE ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS AFFECTING THE SECURITY OF TOLL ROAD REVENUE BONDS. A One Day Conference Presented by the Municipal Forum of New York. New York, the Forum, 1955. 100 pp.



One of the 25 sessions of the conference. This one, Richard S. Childs, presiding, is discussing "Names on the Ballot."

Cool Conference

(Continued from page 393)

President George Gallup at the closing dinner. Both of these speeches are printed in this issue along with Richard S. Childs' dinner speech, "Civic Victories in U. S."

The Local Conference Committee, headed by League Regional Vice President Ben B. Ehrlichman and H. P. Everest, vice president of the University of Washington, and assisted by the University Bureau of Governmental Research and Services and the Municipal League of Seattle and King County, carried out the complicated local arrangements required by the campus location smoothly and efficiently and provided a series of attractive and appropriate entertainment features between the working sessions of the conference. Typical program and entertainment events are illustrated in the pictures.

While most of the country sweltered in record-breaking heat, conference-goers bundled up against chill breezes as several hundred enjoyed the salmon barbecue at Seward Park on Puget Sound following a sight-seeing tour.



Belle Sherwin Dies

Miss Belle Sherwin, a former vice president of the National Municipal League, died on July 9 at her home in Willoughby, Ohio.



Miss Belle Sherwin

Miss Sherwin, pioneer in women's suffrage and formerly president of the National League of Women Voters, was a member of the National Municipal League's Committee on Organized Citizens' Participation in City Government and a vice chairman of its Committee on Citizens Councils for Constructive Economy.

Forbes in Consultant Work

Russell Forbes, former secretary of the National Municipal League and leading authority on public purchasing, has left government service to devote his full time to consultant work.

Dr. Forbes, author, lecturer and official in local and national governments, recently served the Second Hoover Commission as chief consultant to the task force on use and disposal of federal sur-

Assistant Director John E. Bobot and Senior Associate John P. Keith (backs to camera) conferring with Professors E. E. Schattachneider, Wesleyan University, and Dr. Victoria Schuck, Mount Holyoke College, and students at seminar in Oshorn Room at NML headquarters. (See story on page 438.)

plus property. In recent years he has served various federal departments and commissions and was for four years deputy administrator, General Services Administration. He was the first commissioner of purchase for the City of New York, from 1934 to 1941.

Ehrlichman Given Award

The National Municipal League's "Distinguished Citizen" award was presented by President George Gallup to

Ben B. Ehrlichman at the annual dinner of the National Conference on Government in Seattle in July. Mr. Ehrlichman, Seattle civic leader, is NML regional vice president and was general chairman of the conference.

In a surprise ceremony at the dinner, Mr. Ehrlichman and Dr. Gallup were commissioned colonels on the staff of the governor of Kentucky. Thomas Graham, member of the League's Council from Louisville, conferred the commissions on behalf of the governor.

NML Chairman of Executive Committee Richard S. Childs, and Louis Brownlow, retired director of Public Administration Clearing House, talking over their most recent books and progress of the battle for civic improvement.



Wanted: Two Books

The National Municipal League Library urgently needs the works listed below and will pay the prices indicated for them:

- 1.** *Metropolitan Government*, by Victor Jones. University of Chicago Press, 1942, list price: \$4. Our offer: \$3.
- 2.** *The Government of Metropolitan Areas in the United States*, by Paul Studenski and the National Municipal League Committee on Metropolitan Government. National Municipal League, 1930, list price: \$3.50. Our offer: \$4.50.

These books are required in several pending research projects. Your cooperation will be gratefully appreciated.

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Tools for Achieving Better Government

Citizen groups often turn to the League for help in achieving better government in their locality. Listed below are some of the tools available to them:

Campaign Pamphlets

Story of the Council-Manager Plan, 36 pages (1954).....	.20
Charts: Council-manager Form, Commission Form, Mayor-council Form (17½ x 22½"), 50 cents each, set of three.....	1.00
County Manager Plan, 24 pages (1950).....	.20
Forms of Municipal Government—How Have They Worked? 20 pages (1953).....	.25
Facts About the Council-Manager Plan, 8 pages (1954).....	.05
City Employees and the Manager Plan, 4 pages (1952).....	.05
Labor Unions and the Council-Manager Plan, 8 pages (1953).....	.05
P. R., 12 pages (1952).....	.05
The Citizen Association—How to Organize and Run It, 64 pages (1953) (1953)75
The Citizen Association—How to Win Civic Campaigns, 64 pages (1953)75

(The two pamphlets above may be purchased together for \$1.20)

Model Laws

Model Accrual Budget Law, 40 pages (1946).....	.75
Model Cash Basis Budget Law, 42 pages (1948).....	.75
Model City Charter, 173 pages (1941).....	1.50
Model County and Municipal Bond Law, 54 pages (1953).....	1.00
Model County Charter (New edition in preparation.).....	1.50
Model Direct Primary Election System, 48 pages (1951).....	1.00
Model Investment of State Funds Law, 23 pages (1954).....	1.00
Model Real Property Tax Collection Law, 40 pages (1954)	1.00
Model State and Regional Planning Law (1954).....	1.00
Model State Civil Service Law, 32 pages (1953).....	.75
Model State Constitution, 72 pages (1948).....	1.00
Model State Medico-legal Investigative System, 39 pages (1954).....	.50
Model Voter Registration System, 56 pages (1954).....	1.00

Other Pamphlets and Books

American County—Patchwork of Boards, 24 pages (1946).....	.35
Best Practice Under the Manager Plan, 8 pages (1954).....	.15
Civic Victories, by Richard S. Childs, 367 pages (1952).....	3.50
Coroners in 1953—A Symposium of Legal Bases and Actual Practices, 90 pages, mimeographed (1954).....	2.00
Digest of County Manager Charters and Laws, 70 pages (1954).....	2.00
Guide for Charter Commissions, 44 pages (1952).....	.75
Manager Plan Abandonments, by Arthur W. Bromage, 36 pages (1954).....	.50
The Metropolitan Problem—Current Research, Opinion, Action, by Guthrie S. Birkhead (reprinted from NATIONAL MUNICIPAL RE- VIEW), 12 pages (1953).....	.25
More Responsible States, Panel Discussion, National Conference on Government, Richmond, Virginia, 33 pages, mimeographed (1953).....	.50
New Look at Home Rule, by Benjamin Baker etc. (reprinted from NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW), 32 pages (1955)50
Proportional Representation—Illustrative Election, 8 pages (1951).....	.10
Proportional Representation—Key to Democracy, by George H. Hallett, Jr., 177 pages (1940).....	.25
Save Our Cities, by Joseph E. McLean etc. (reprinted from NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW), 32 pages (1954)35

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